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THE VILLA IN LATE ANTIQUITY: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF VILLAS AND THEIR COMPONENT PARTS AND ITS RELATION TO BUILDING DESIGN (337-565 A.D.)

by

J.J.ROSSITER

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1986

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE VILLA IN LATE ANTIQUITY: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF VILLAS AND THEIR COMPONENT PARTS AND ITS RELATION TO BUILDING DESIGN (337-565 A.D.) submitted by J.J.ROSSITER in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in CLASSICS.

....

Supervisor

Robert J. Buck

....

....

Nicholas Wickenden

....

....

External Examiner

Date 28 / Feb / 1986

ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is the Roman villa in Late Antiquity. It traces the survival of the villa as a focus of aristocratic social life through the two and a half centuries following the death of Constantine the Great, the period of transformation between the Later Roman Empire and the early Mediaeval world. Its central purpose is to offer an interpretation of the design of Late Antique villas and their component architectural features, based principally on a study of contemporary literary sources which, by design or coincidence, throw light on the social use to which these buildings were put. The literary sources have been studied to extract evidence for the form and function of villas and to explore the ways in which these changed according to the changing social, cultural and economic conditions of the age. The literary evidence is used to elucidate the specific social function of many features of villa architecture which, on the basis of the archaeological record alone, have often been poorly understood.

The features of the villa which receive most attention are the more 'public' rooms of the villa - entrance halls, libraries, dining-rooms, and bath-houses - these being the parts of the villa about which we hear most in contemporary literary sources. The question is asked whether the grandiose architecture of many Late Antique villa entrances and façades was created in part as a setting for ceremonial pageantry which echoed the pomp and ceremony of the imperial palaces. The question of audience-hall ceremony in aristocratic houses and villas is also discussed.

Late Antique literary sources place considerable emphasis on the use of villas for different leisure activities (*otium*). One of the features of the villa designed for this purpose was the library, used not only for literary study but also as a reception room for guests. The design of villa libraries is discussed and an attempt made to identify such rooms in the plans of a numbeer of excavated villas. The sources reveal that many aristocratic villas were designed to include several different dining-rooms, each serving a distinct social purpose. Discussion focuses on the design of 'public' dining-rooms in villas and its relationship to the various rituals of the formal *cena*. Dining-rooms built for seasonal and private use are also discussed. Bath-houses were an important focus of social life at the villa and as such received special architectural emphasis. The design and decoration of the different features of Late Antique villa bath-houses is considered in the light of the literary evidence for the relative social importance of each. When the scale of investment in villa construction declined in the 5th century, the building of ornate and costly bath-houses remained one of the few concessions to luxury.

The design of aristocratic villas in Late Antiquity was greatly influenced by the need to accommodate large households. The nature and size of these households is analyzed and suggestions made as to how and where the different categories of staff were housed. The literary sources indicate a decline in the scale of aristocratic households in the Latin West during the 5th century, which is reflected in the emergence of a more compact villa architecture.

The farming of the land around a villa created the need for numerous agricultural buildings, the range and design of which in Late Antiquity is discussed with reference to archaeological and literary sources. Farm buildings were often large and decentralized, suggesting that the estates which they serviced were of considerable size. Coastal and riverside villas often included special constructions for the farming of fish and other sea-foods, as well as port facilities for shipping cargoes to and from the estate.

Finally the question of defence is considered. It is argued that while some villas in Late Antiquity appear to have been designed with elements of fortification, the traditional open villa continued as a normal feature of the landscape right through the 6th century. The term *castellum* is defined and a distinction drawn between the undefended aristocratic *suburbanum* and the fortified *castellum* built to provide protection for the rural population and agricultural produce of the estate of an absentee landlord.

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I. INTRODUCTION

> "The architects and builders of country houses were not producing pieces of abstract sculpture but buildings designed to fit a particular way of life." (Mark Girouard *Life in the English Country House* (Yale 1978) p.12).

What was true of the English country house in the eighteenth century was no less true of the Roman villa in Late Antiquity. Yet in the case of the Roman villa this fundamental relationship between design and social function is one that has never been adequately explored. Studies of Late Roman villas have generally been far more concerned with questions of art history (Sarnowski 1978; Carandini 1982) or of architectural design *per se* (Swoboda 1969) than with the reasons which lay behind this design. All too often we have been presented with distribution maps, plans and reconstructions of what villas may have looked like (e.g. Thomas 1964; Gorges 1978), but with little or no discussion of the "particular way of life", the domestic functions and social rituals, which the villas' various rooms and buildings were designed to accommodate.

This information cannot of course be extracted solely from the archaeological record. Sometimes the function of an excavated room or building can be broadly surmised from the presence of some distinctive structural feature - an oven, a bathing pool, a wine press and so on - but if we want to reach a better understanding of the life-style and social customs which help to explain the design and arrangement of the various parts of a villa, we must look beyond the archaeological record, at the surviving written documents which shed light either specifically or coincidentally on the ways in which villas were used. This then is the central purpose of the present study, to suggest an interpretation of the design of the villas of Late Antiquity, based on the evidence for their social use which is provided by contemporary literary sources.

There are a number of reasons for focusing this study on the villas of Late Antiquity rather than those of an earlier period: one is that this was a time when there were important political and cultural changes taking place in the Roman and post-Roman world and yet rarely has the question been asked what impact these changes may have had on the design of one of the most time-honoured and quintessential Roman institutions, the country house or villa; another is that this is a period from which there is an enormous corpus of surviving literature, much of it patristic, whose potential for the study of social history has generally been neglected. Only recently have such works as E.D.Hunt's *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire* demonstrated very successfully the considerable value of patristic sources for the study of specific social institutions of the Late Antique world.

Not that I would wish, however, to suggest that this study of the villa in Late Antiquity results from an exhaustive reading of the entire corpus of patristic literature. This would indeed be a formidable undertaking. Rather what I have done here is to direct my enquiries mainly towards those genres of Late Antique literature which seemed most likely to provide the kind of information which I was looking for. In particular this meant the numerous collections of private correspondence between leading churchmen and statesmen of the age, as well as the many biographies and hagiographies which shed light on the social environment in which their subjects lived and circulated.

In dealing with such writings we have always to bear in mind the social milieu from which they originate. The villas and villa owners we hear most about in the literary sources belong by and large to the very highest levels of Late Antique society, to the metropolitan and municipal aristocracies whose wealth and social distinction afforded them the resources to indulge their taste for luxury and the leisure to document their own aristocratic lifestyle. The archaeological record is not so exclusive. Yet enough luxury is evident in most of the villas discussed in this study to suggest that their owners either belonged to those same upper classes of society, or at least were striving to emulate the lifestyle of those who did, and that therefore comparisons between the design of these buildings and the lifestyle of the wealthy villa owners of the literary sources are for the most part appropriate and valid.

Of course the question then arises whether the lifestyle of the villa owners of the literary sources is an authentic one. Do the recurring images of country house life presented in the literary sources of Late Antiquity genuinely reflect the social customs of the period in which they were written, or are they merely nostalgic fantasies, recalling in idealistic terms the aristocratic lifestyle of a bygone age? Can we trust the idyllic portraits of country life given us in the pages of 4th and 5th century writers like Symmachus and Sidonius, or should we see these simply as literary exercises designed to evoke the memory of an earlier age of aristocratic *otium*? Certainly much of the literature of Late Antiquity is strongly influenced by the literary conventions of the Classical world, but it would be wrong to suggest that the picture of Late Antique society given us by contemporary authors is unduly contrived or idealized. Sidonius may have been inspired by Pliny's example to compose literary descriptions of his and his friends' villas in 5th century Gaul, but the details of the architecture, the arrangement of the rooms, the ways in which these were used, these surely are drawn from Sidonius' own experience and differ significantly from Pliny's comparable accounts of villa architecture. Similarly, although Palladius may owe much to Vitruvius and to other earlier agronomists, he clearly adapts his models to reflect the changed circumstances of his own age. Besides, many of the references to villas and to life at villas found in the literature of Late Antiquity are purely coincidental. The picture of country life recreated in the chapters which follow is based to a large extent on casual observations of contemporary society made by writers whose main interest is often far removed from the niceties of villa design or the social rituals of aristocratic landowners.

Although the number of excavated villas which can with some degree of confidence be dated in part or in whole to the centuries of Late Antiquity is not great, here again a need arises to be selective in one's use of the evidence. The buildings discussed here are generally those which seem to demonstrate most clearly the way in which architectural design was influenced by social custom. Sometimes it has been possible to reevaluate the function of several of the features of a single, well-known villa such as that at Piazza Armerina in Sicily or that at Montmaurin in Aquitania; at other times specific features of less well-known villas have been singled out as best illustrating the kind of architectural environment that was created to facilitate the particular social practices we find described or alluded to in the literary sources. There are doubtless other sites and other writings which could be cited to add support to the arguments presented here, but I hope that in general sufficient evidence is provided to demonstrate the value of applying this type of study to a much admired but much less well understood group of late classical buildings.

II. OWNERSHIP AND RESIDENCE.

The excavation of a Roman villa rarely reveals the name of its owner or provides clues as to how much of the year the owner spent in residence there. Occasionally, it is true, a name comes to light inscribed on a tombstone, a *dolium* rim or a piece of lead piping, but even then we can rarely be certain in precisely what capacity the person named was associated with the villa or for how long this association lasted. As a result there has often been heated controversy on questions of villa ownership, not least when claims have been advanced for a link between an excavated villa and a member of the Imperial family.[1] As far as most excavated villas are concerned, however, the name of the villa's owner, or various owners, is unlikely ever to be known. But even if we are unable for the most part to link specific names to individual villas, we can at least, with the help of contemporary literary evidence, begin to see certain patterns of property ownership among the upper classes of Roman society and acquire some understanding not only of where the Roman landowning classes were likely to develop villas but also when and for what purposes they frequented them.

---

[1] For a recent summary of the debate over ownership of the villa at Piazza Armerina see R.J.Wilson (1983) 86ff; also controversial are claims to Imperial ownership of the 4th century villa at Gamzigrad in Dacia Ripensis, for which see D.Srejović (1978) 61ff.

The literarature of Late Antiquity is peppered with references to the elegant villas which rich landowners built and maintained in the countryside around the great cities of the Roman world. The sources usually refer to these villas as *suburbana*, in Greek *προάστεια*, a term which implies not so much the proximity of the villa to a town but rather the fact that the villa's use was related to its owner's involvement in urban life.[2] The *suburbanum* was not a place where the owner resided permanently but rather a place which he visited intermittently, when not committed to civic duties or professional responsibilities in the town. Journeying to and from the *suburbanum* was, as we shall see, a regular ritual of aristocratic life.

A. Imperial villas in Late Antiquity

The 4th century *suburbanum* represented the continuation of a long-standing social and architectural tradition. For many centuries it had been the privilege of rich landowning families to invest huge sums of money in the development of luxurious villas in the countryside around the great cities of the Roman world. A daunting example had been set by the Imperial family, whose suburban palaces like Domitian's villa in the Alban hills or Hadrian's villa at Tivoli had set standards of villa architecture which no amount of senatorial wealth was ever likely to rival. In the 4th and 5th centuries the Imperial family continued to make use of villas near Rome whenever the court moved to the city. The Imperial *suburbanum* on the Via Nomentana served as a favourite residence for members of Constantius' household.[3] A century later it was in the grounds of the Imperial villa 'Ad Duas Lauros' at Centocelle that Valentinian III was murdered.[4] Near the other cities of the Late Roman world where the emperors elected to reside we again hear of villas frequented by members of the Imperial house. Constantine is found residing at villas near Nicomedia;[5] Julian at a villa outside Milan;[6] Valentinian at the Villa Murocincta near Carnuntum.[7] After the Western court settled at Ravenna in the early 5th century the ruling families, both Roman and Gothic, began to develop villas for their private use in the countryside around that city. Mention is made by Agnellus of an Imperial villa (*aedes Imperialis*) which Honorius commissioned his architect

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[2] Symmachus *Ep.*3.13 could even refer to Spoletium, about 60 miles north of Rome, as *suburbanitas nostra*. This probably represents the upper limit of a single day's travel by carriage.

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[3] The site is now best known for the 4th century mausoleum of Constantina, Constantius' sister who, like her sister Helena, was buried in the grounds of the palace: Amm.Marc. 21.1.5; F. Coarelli *Dintorni di Roma* (Rome-Bari,1981) 196ff.

[4] Agnellus *Lib.Pont.* 42; *Cons.Ital.* 572 (Chron.Min.I.303); on the site at Centocelle see T.Ashby and G.Lugli 'La villa dei Flavi Cristiani "Ad Duas Lauros" e il suburbio Imperiale ad oriente di Roma' *Mem.Pont.Acc.* 2(1928) 157-192.

[5] Athanasius *Apol.Sec.*60.4,65.4; Eusebius *V.Const.* 4.61.2, 64; see T.D.Barnes (1982) 78-80 for other references.

[6] Julian *Ep.ad Ath.*275b.

[7] Amm.Marc.30.10.4; A.Mócsy 'Murocincta' *Adriatica. Praehistorica et Antiqua* (Zagreb,1970) 583-586.

Lauricius to build at Caesarea near Classis.[8] The 6th century *Vita S.Hilarii* (abbot of Galeata) refers to a villa built by Theodoric in the countryside near Forli, about twenty miles south-west of Ravenna.[9]

Around Constantinople the Imperial family was also busy acquiring choice estates and building villas. Already by the early 5th century there are indications of a number of Imperial villas around the city, both along the Thracian coastline and on the much-favoured Bithynian shore of the Bosphorus. Foremost among these was the palace at Hebdomon, seven miles west of Constantinople, first mentioned as an Imperial *suburbanum* by Ammianus in the 4th century.[10] In addition we hear of other Imperial villas in the vicinity of Constantinople, some to the east in the direction of Chalcedon, others whose precise location eludes us.[11] As far as we can tell these villas continued in frequent use during the 5th century, when residence by members of the Imperial house is occasionally attested.[12] Certainly the abundant sources for the 6th century indicate a complex network of imperial residences in the suburbs of Constantinople and in Bithynia, many of which were rebuilt at great expense by Justinian and Theodora.[13]

---

[8] Agnellus *Lib.Pont.* 35. Lauricius is said to have disobeyed his mandate and built a martyrium to St.Laurentius instead; see T.Hodgkin (1892) I.2.906-7.

[9] Paulus Diaconus *V.Hilarii* 2 (=*Acta Sanctorum* May 3.15.471ff: *in tempore illo veniens rex Theodoricus ut sibi sub ipso monte super Betentem fluvium palatium constitueret.* Attempts have been made to identify this *palatium* with excavated villas in the locality of Forli, e.g. at Galeata: G.Jacopi *NSc* 4(1943) 204-212; at Meldola: S.Aurigemma 'Una nuova villa di re Teodorico' *Le Vie d'Italia* (Nov.1940) 1256-1262. These claims, however, are fanciful and not based upon any sound archaeological or stratigraphic evidence.

[10] Amm.Marc.36.4.3; cf. Themistius *Or.*7.99, Rufinus *De Vit.Patrum* 3.19. For the site itself see A.Van Milligan (1899) 335; R.Janin (1964) 139; J.-B.Thibaut 'L'Hebdomon de Constantinople' *Échos d'Orient* 21 (1922) 31-44.

[11] Socrates Scholasticus 6.16 (Marianai); Sozomen 8.18 (Anaplus); *V.Epiphanii* 61 (unspecified location); see K.Holum (1982) 76; Bithynian villas: Julian *Ep.*25; Sozomen 5.2; also the villa of Rufinus which passed into Imperial hands after its founder's assassination: Claudian *In Ruf.*2.448ff; Callinicus *V.Hypatii* 37.3 (ed. G.J.M.Bartelink, *SChr* 117 (1971) 13-17, for further references); cf.M.Pargoire *Byz. Zeit.* 8(1899) 429-477.

B. The aristocratic *suburbanum*

Like the imperial family the great noble families of the 4th and 5th centuries invested large sums in the acquisition and development of elegant villas near the major cities of the Roman world. Not surprisingly the most detailed evidence relates to the ownership of properties near Rome and Constantinople, the seats of the Eastern and Western senates. Late 4th century sources record the names of several owners of villas in the vicinity of Rome. All are individuals of high rank, some rich enough to possess several villas dispersed among the most fashionable suburban districts: at Tivoli,[14] Praeneste,[15] Tusculanum,[16] Laurentum,[17] and in other unspecified locations around the city.[18]

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[12] e.g. Callinicus *V.Hypatii* 37.3-4: Pulcheria and sisters at Rufinianae; Theophanes *Chron.*151a: Theodosius II at Chalcedon.

[13] Justinian's expenditure on villas: Procopius *HA* 26.23, *Aed* 1.11.16, 5.2.5 (Helenopolis), 5.3.18 (Pythia); in addition, at a slightly later date, the Sophianae palace built by Justin II, for which see A.Cameron *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 11ff; also an Imperial residence at Daphnusium: John of Ephesus *HE* 3.3.9; see in general A.Van Milligan (1899) 280; R.Janin (1964) 138ff.

The sack of Rome at the end of the first decade of the 5th century caused severe, if not permanent disruption to the exploitation of the rich estates and villas near the city. The looting of the city was accompanied by widespread plunder in the surrounding countryside which must have involved the destruction, or at least ransacking, of many of the villas.[19] The devastation led to an immediate devaluation of the property market. Melania and Pinian, who managed to preempt this collapse with the sale of their suburban properties, found their house in Rome severely damaged and virtually worthless after the siege.[20] In the wake of the disaster some members of the Roman aristocracy chose, like Melania, to leave Italy altogether, to sell up as best they could and embrace a new life of religious asceticism.[21]

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[14] Symmachus *Epp.* 6.81, 7.15,18-20 (Priscus Attalus), 7.31 (Nonius Atticus Maximus); Symmachus provides by far the best source for the social life of the aristocracy of Rome towards the end of the 4th century. As an assessment of his value to the historian, particularly to the social historian, nothing could be further from the truth than Dill's unwarranted judgement: 'probably no public man ever left behind him a collection of letters of so little general interest'; S.Dill (1899) 145. For a more rational assessment see J.Matthews in J.W.Binns (ed.) *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century* (London, 1974) 58-99.

[15] Symmachus *Epp.*1.5, 3.50, 7.35, 9.83; *idem. Rel.*28.3 (Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius).

[16] Macrobius *Sat.*7.7.14 (a relative of Symmachus'; for suggested identification see A.Cameron *JRS* 56 (1966) 33f).

[17] Symmachus *Epp.*4.44, 7.15, 26, 9.69. Topographical references to a villa belonging to Melania and Pinianus, *V.Melaniae* 1.18, are strikingly similar to descriptions of other Laurentine villas; compare *cum igitur lavaret in natatoria, videbat et naves transeuntes et venationem in silva* with Symmachus *Ep.*7.15: *in oculis est venantibus mare* and Pliny *Ep.*2.17.5: *tria maria prospectat ... silvas et longinquos respicit montes*. There seems no reason to place Melania's villa in Sicily as suggested by L.Ruggini (1980) 519 n.81.

[18] e.g. Jerome *Epp.*107.11 (Laeta), 127.8 (Marcella); Amm.Marc.27.3.12 (Viventius); V.Melaniae I.7, possibly to be identified with the villa described at 1.18. For a recent survey of the archaeological remains of villas in the Roman Campagna see L.Quilici *Arch.Class.*31 (1979) 309-317.

[19] Augustine *Ep.*99: *quae illic in urbe vel circa urbem geruntur*; cf. Zosimus 5.39-40.

Recovery and reconstruction, however, were evidently not long delayed for those who remained. When the historian Olympiodorus visited Rome in the 420s he was struck with admiration for the private houses of the aristocracy. His reference to some of the houses being equipped not only with baths and ornate courts but also with private hippodromes suggests that he has in mind not only the town houses of the aristocracy but also their suburban villas, where such facilities would not be surprising.[22] Although the meagre 5th century sources provide few details of specific ownership of villas near Rome, occasional references suffice to suggest continuity in the ownership of suburban properties by the city's leading citizens. Anicia Demetrias still retained ownership of an estate on the Via Latina at the time of her death in 439;[23] Aetius, after his defeat by Boniface in 437, retired to an estate near Rome, probably at one time owned by his mother who is said to have been an Italian noblewoman of vast possessions.[24] The later 5th century saw further development in the *suburbium* of the city. Papal villas began to acquire the elegance and luxury traditional to the country houses of the aristocracy. Pope Hilarius (461-468 A.D.) commissioned the construction of a suburban villa which included two libraries, a bath-house and a swimming-pool.[25] If too, as has recently been argued with some force, the agronomist Palladius was living in Rome during the second half of the 5th century, then it is reasonable to suppose that the elegant padronal villa which he describes in his *Opus Agriculturae* was to some extent inspired by similar buildings which he himself possessed on his own estates near Rome.[26]

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[20] *V.Melaniae* 1.14, 19: *postea ab hostium parte dissipata, pro nihilo venundata est quasi incensa.*
[21] Jerome *Ep.*130.7: Anicia Proba sells *avitas possessiones* in Italy; Augustine *Ep.*172: a possible reference to the sale of estates in Italy, Sicily and Africa by Paula and Eustochium.
[22] Olympiodorus Fr.43; J.Matthews (1975) 384 n.3 regards the mention of hippodromes as 'frankly hyperbolic' but private hippodromes at villas are not unknown: cf. Pliny *Ep.*5.6; for archaeological evidence see G.Pisani Sartorio and R.Calza (1976) 118.

The history of the villas around Rome under the Gothic kings is less easily determined. There are, however, some clues to the continued development of private houses in the city's suburbs. Theodoric, in a letter commending the patrician Symmachus for the energy and expense he has devoted to the rebuilding of Rome's public monuments, praises his corresponding enthusiasm for private building.[27] The letter refers to the renovation of buildings in the suburbs of Rome and it may be that Theodoric is alluding to the simultaneous reconstruction of both a public edifice and a private *suburbanum* which belonged to Symmachus' family. Of some interest is an anecdote told by Procopius; Totila, he says, lectured the Roman senate on their lack of gratitude for having been allowed to amass such vast wealth under Theodoric and Athalaric.[28] If the patrician families of Rome had indeed acquired large fortunes under the Gothic kings then it would not be surprising if some of this wealth had been invested in the traditional aristocratic luxury of elegant residential property in town and country.

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[23] *Lib.Pont.* 47.1
[24] Prosper *Chron* 1310; Frigeridus ap. Greg. Tours *HF* 2.18.
[25] *Lib.Pont.* 48.12; L.Duschene (1886) I.247 n.10.
[26] On Palladius' date see R.Martin (1979) vii-xx; Palladius refers to his own estates *circa urbem* (*Op.Ag.* 3.25.20.)
[27] Cassiodorus *Variae* 4.51.1-2.

In the East, although senatorial fortunes were probably on a more modest scale than in the West, there is still good evidence for a growing number of luxurious suburban villas around Constantinople by the end of the 4th century.[29] The leading senatorial families emulated the Imperial family in their acquisition of estates and villas near the city. A well-documented case is that of the family of Flavius Ablabius, a leading member of the senate under Constantine and consul in 331 A.D. Ablabius possessed a fine villa in Bithynia, which probably formed part of the estate later inherited by his grand-daughter Olympias.[30] 4th century sources record the names of several other leading senatorial families who owned estates and villas near the city.[31] Relatively few details exist for the 5th century but occasional references to villa ownership suggest that despite the dangers of barbarian incursions the city's aristocracy continued to own and frequent their suburban estates.[32] Not until the time of Justinian does the picture become suddenly more detailed again. Procopius' descriptions of Constantinople reveal a city surrounded by a thriving community of suburban villas extending in particular density along the Asian shore of the Bosphorus.[33]

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[28] Procopius *B.G.* 7.21.12.

[29] On the reduced scale of senatorial wealth in the East, see A.H.M.Jones (1964) 555f; M.T.W.Arnheim (1972) 168; Basil *Ep.*4 may echo a common prejudice in censuring the luxury of contemporary Italy and Sicily.

[30] Ablabius' villa: Eunapius *V.Phil* 464. Olympias' extensive property holdings: *V.Olympiadis* 5 (ed.A.-M. Malingrey, *SChr* 13b (1968) 418 n.1).

C. *Villae maritimae*

Ownership of a suburban villa was sometimes supplemented by the possession of other residential properties more distant from the city. Most celebrated among these were the luxurious *villae maritimae*, houses maintained largely for recreational use by their owners near the popular coastal and thermal resorts of the Roman world.

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[31] e.g. Sozomen 7.21 (Mardonius); Ausonius *Ep.*5.39-40 (Promotus); above n.11 (Rufinus); J.Matthews (1975) 119-121, following R.Janin (1964) 468 ff, lists the names of several others.

[32] 5th century owners of suburban estates: *V.Epiphanii* 61 (the senator Theognotus); *V.Dan.Styl*.26 (Gelanius, Castrensis Sacrae Mensae under Leo I); *V.Hypatii* 6.4 (Eleutherus).

[33] *BG* 1.25, 7.35.4 (Belisarius and Antonia), *HA* 7.37, *Aed.* 4.9.4.

Again this represented the survival of a long aristocratic tradition, which had found ultimate expression in the building of such great Imperial residences as Tiberius' villas at Capri and Sperlonga or Trajan's villa at Centumcellae. In Italy it was of course the Bay of Naples, with its famous thermal resorts and unrivalled natural beauty, which had for centuries been a holiday playground for the Roman aristocracy. In the 4th century this area continued to attract heavy investment. Symmachus' family owned several villas in the Bay area: one at Bauli which he had probably inherited from his father-in-law and others at Baiae, Puteoli and Naples.[34] The Symmachi also owned a villa at Formiae, a popular resort and a convenient staging-post between Rome and Campania.[35] Many of Symmachus' aristocratic friends who are known to have owned villas near Rome, are also attested as owners of *villae maritimae* on the Bay of Naples.[36].

It is difficult to trace the continued ownership of such coastal villas in the 5th century but again the small amount of available evidence suggests little disruption of the tradition. Rutilius Namatianus, recalling his voyage from Rome to Gaul in A.D. 417 describes visits to a number of coastal villas in Etruria, one belonging to Decius Albinus, his predecessor as *Praefectus Urbi*.[37] The fame of Baiae endured throughout the century, so that still in the time of Theodoric the *otia Baiana* were a perennial attraction for the Romano-Gothic aristocracy.[38] How much private wealth continued to be invested there, however, it is impossible to determine. Certainly with the court commonly at Ravenna other more accessible areas were becoming favoured for the building of *villae maritimae*. Cassiodorus talks with familiarity of the *praetoria longe lateque lucentia* along the shores of Istria and of elegant villas overlooking Lake Como.[39]

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[34] For references see O.Seeck (1883) xlvi; J.D'Arms (1970) 226-29. Seeck supposes that the *Lucrina sedes* mentioned in *Ep.* 1.1 is a different property from the villa at Baiae. This seems unlikely; cf.*Ep.*7.16 (to Attalus on the Bay of Naples): *festivitas ista Baiana est; nimiis te salibus Lucrinus infecit*. The single reference to Cumae need not imply a villa either; cf. *Ep.*2.3, for a single night spent at Tarracina.

[35] cf. Martial 10.30 on the villa of Apollinaris at Formiae.

[36] e.g. Priscus Attalus with villas at Tivoli and Baiae; see above n.14; Agorius Praetextatus and Decius Albinus with villas in Etruria and at Baiae: Symmachus *Ep.*1.48, 51; 7.35, 39.

D. *Latifundia* and villas

In addition to these suburban and coastal properties many of the great aristocratic families of Rome and

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[37] Rutilius Namatianus *De Red*.1.466ff, 527ff; the villa of Albinus may be the same property alluded to by Symmachus: *Ep*.7.39.

[38] Cassiodorus *Variae* 9.6.3; Sidonius *Carm*.18; *Anth.Lat*.210-11.

[39] *Variae* 11.14.3, 12.22.5; on villas around Lake Como compare the account of Pliny, *Ep*.9.7. For *villae maritimae* in Istria with evidence of Late Roman occupation see chapter 8 n.36. For a notable 4th century villa on the shores of Lake Garda: E.Ghislanzoni *La Villa Romana in Desenzano* (Milan, 1962).

Constantinople during the 4th and 5th centuries owned extensive estates in more distant regions. Melania, for example, reputedly owned land in five provinces;[40] Petronius Probus is said to have possessed property *per orbem Romanum universum paene.*[41] Sicily and North Africa in particular, with their rich yields of grain and oil, were favoured regions for the development of huge *latifundia* by the ruling aristocracy at Rome.[42] The question therefore arises whether such wealthy landowners maintained on these more distant estates the kind of elegant residential villas which we have seen attested on their estates nearer the city. The evidence suggests that this was not the case; rather that distant and overseas properties often remained neglected and unvisited by their aristocratic *domini*. Symmachus mentions a noble Roman lady whose estates near Aquileia were unknown to her.[43] He himself had extensive estates in South Italy and Sicily but there is nothing in his writings to suggest that he maintained residential villas on these estates.[44] When he is found taking an active interest in the management of the estates it is usually from the security of his houses in Capua or Naples.[45] Management was left in the hands of local agents and overseers to whom instructions could be sent by letter or personal envoy.[46] If this applied to estates a few days land journey from the senatorial *patria*, it was still more the case with distant overseas possessions. Provided that the management of such estates was reliable, the owners had little need, and probably little desire, to visit such distant possessions. Tenure of political office in a province might provide a temporary contact but otherwise the prospect of a long land or sea journey would hardly have been an appealing one.[47] It was only a serious case of land seizure that induced Ambrose's brother Satyrus to undertake a journey to his African estates in 377/8.[48]

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[40] Aquitania, Africa, Spain, Sicily and Britain; *V.Melaniae* 1.11, 19-20; Palladius *Hist.Laus.*61.

[41] Amm.Marc.27.11.1. In general see M.T.Arnheim (1972) 143ff.

[42] For estates in Sicily owned by 4th and 5th century senatorial families see L.Ruggini (1980) 490ff; in North Africa, M.Overbeck *Untersuchungen zum Afrikanischen Senatsadel in der Spätantike* (Kallmunz, 1973) 40f; A.H.M.Jones (1964) 781ff.

[43] Symmachus *Ep.*4.68: *clarissimae feminae propter longiquitatem itineris incognita (sc. horrea)*; cf. Trimalchio's claim, Petronius *Sat.*3.48.2: *in suburbano ... eo, quod ego adhuc non novi.*

[44] As claimed, in the case of Sicily, by L.Ruggini (1980) 490 n.52. For Symmachus' South Italian and Sicilian estates, with references, see O.Seeck (1883) xlvi. A comparable case is that of the senator Rufus Praetextatus Postumianus with estates in Bruttium: Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*49.15.

Large estates, even if neglected by their absentee landlords and lacking the imposing grandeur of a padronal villa, nevertheless required considerable investment in buildings to provide for the needs of management, production and the manning of the estate. For such purposes village settlement (*vici*) was the normal pattern.[49] The villages on the estates were not necessarily small in size or number. In addition to housing estate personnel and providing facilities for agricultural processing and storage, they appear often to have contained other amenities such as workshops, bathhouses and churches.[50] These buildings were principally for the use of the men and women who worked the estate. It is hardly conceivable that the the absentee *dominus* who rarely visited his distant estates would maintain there a luxurious villa like the suburban and coastal properties which he frequented nearer home.

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[45] *Epp.*2.26, 6.11, 2.60, 9.111.

[46] Estate managers were *procuratores* or *actores*: Symmachus *Epp.*5.87, 9.6; Ausonius *Ep.*26; Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*49.15; Jerome *V.Hilarionis* 43; Augustine *Ep.*247; according to A.H.M.Jones (1964) 790 n.47 dealing directly with *coloni* or leasing to *conductores*. For the latter, Symmachus *Ep.*9.59; Augustine *Ep.*46, 115. Greek terms for estate managers include διοικητής , Olympiodorus Fr.16; κύριος, Synesius *Ep.*133. For the despatch of letters and envoys to distant estates: Symmachus *Epp.*5.87,6.12, 7.11; John Chrysostom *Ep.*13.1b; see further J.McGeachy (1942) 61.

[47] On the discomforts of long-distance travel in this period see E.D.Hunt (1982) 73ff. Nevertheless Symmachus took the opportunity of his proconsulship in Africa in 373-75 to visit his estates in Mauretania: J.Matthews *Historia* 20 (1971) 122-28.

[48] Ambrose *De Exc.Sat.*I.17ff; L.Ruggini (1961) 85 n.224; O.Seeck (1883) xlix.

E. Seasonal visits to the *suburbanum*

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[49] On African *vici*: Augustine *Ep*.185.33; Victor Vitensis 3.57; Agennius Urbicus *De Controversiis Agrorum* A171. Agennius' reference to several *vicos circa villam* has given rise to much misunderstanding. This is not evidence for nucleated settlement around a central padronal villa; rather we should understand the words as meaning several 'villages spread around the estate' (for the usual 4th century equation *villa*=estate see below Appendix 1); for discussion of this passage see J.Kolendo *Le Colonat en Afrique sous le Haut-Empire* (Besançon, 1976) 23ff; A.H.M.Jones (1964) 787.

[50] *Horrea* on estates: Symmachus *Ep*.4.68; Ambrose *Ep*.82.7; bath-houses: Augustine *Ep*.46.25; Gregory of Nyssa *Ep*.1; *V.Melaniae* 1.21; churches: Ausonius *Ep*.27.94; Gregory of Nyssa *loc.cit.*; *V.Melaniae loc.cit.*; workshops, implied by the presence of craftsmen: *V.Melaniae loc.cit*.

Having considered the evidence for villa ownership at the highest levels of Roman society we must now turn to the question of when the great *dominus* visited his villas and for what purpose. In general suburban estates offered their landlords two privileges: on the one hand an agreeable environment for relaxation and recreation, on the other an agricultural yield at least sufficient to meet the demands of the padronal table. For the rich owner of a number of different suburban villas the degree of emphasis on the recreational or economic aspects of the villa would doubtless vary from one property to another. While all estates were likely to be to some extent productive, some were used predominantly for recreational purposes by those who could afford such indulgence.[51] It is a common literary *topos* among aristocratic writers to express their need to escape from the heat and confusion of the city to their suburban retreats, there to enjoy periods of leisure amidst gracious surroundings:[52] to socialize, to entertain, to hunt and to devote themselves to literary pursuits. This was the traditional aristocratic ethos, the prorogative of the upper class. This life of privileged *otium*, which had so characterized the writings of men like Pliny and Fronto in the 2nd century, again became the hallmark of senatorial society in the renaissance of the later 4th century. The ideal is perhaps best summed up by Naucellius, writing from his villa near Spoletium:

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[51] *Dig.Lat*.10.198: *pretorium voluptati tantum serviente.*
[52] e.g.Naucellius *Epig.Bobiensia* 3; Symmachus *Ep*.4.44; Ausonius *Ep*.6.

> *quodque voluptati est, hinc capio atque fruor:*
> *rura, domus, rigui genuinis fontibus horti*
> *dulciaque imparium marmora Pieridum.*
> *vivere sic placidamque iuvat proferre senectam,*
> *docta revolventem scripta virum veterum.*[53]

But for how much of the year was the *dominus* in residence at his villa? A society with the wealth and power to create for itself a condition of sustained leisure is likely to impose a voluntary discipline on the use of its time, to provide at least an illusion of routine. The rich, aristocratic families of the late 4th century are found visiting their villas seasonally as part of an almost formal cycle of social activity. The more villas a family owned, the more varied this routine would become. Julian refers to these ritual migrations of the upper class, talking of the rich who 'change their house according to the season'.[54] Winters, it would seem, were generally spent in the city; we may recall the distinguished company of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, meeting in December at the town houses of a number of Roman aristocrats.[55] Visits to the country during the winter are not precluded but are attested only rarely, not least one would suppose because of the potential hazards and discomforts of overland travel at this time of year.[56] Visits to villas in the Spring are sometimes attested, but again only rarely.[57] For the most part, however, not surprisingly the summer was the preferred season for visiting the country.[58] The emperor Julian refers to his grandmother's villa near Constantinople as a θερίδιον φίλτατον , a delightful refuge from the sultry pressures of summer in the city.[59]

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[53] Naucellius *Epig.Bobiensia* 5.

[54] Julian *Or*.1.13D, 2.101D; cf. *SHA* (Antoninus Pius) 7.10: *in suis propriis fundis vixit varie ac pro temporibus*.

[55] Macrobius *Sat*.especially 1.2.2, 24.25; 3.20.8. For some town houses of the Roman aristocracy of this period: Amm.Marc.27.3.4; Symmachus *Ep*.3.12, 88; 7.18; Jerome *Ep*.108, 127; *CIL* 6.1699, 1782; G.Gatti *Bull.Comm.* (1902) 145ff.

The summer excursion to the villa was a family affair. Symmachus is found at Praeneste *cum parentibus*;[60] Jerome warns Laeta of the moral hazards involved in leaving her infant daughter in Rome when she visits her villa.[61] This raises another important and generally neglected question about life at the aristocratic villa, namely whether the villa was occupied in the absence of the *dominus* by other members of his family. In the Imperial household this was certainly the case. We hear of frequent and prolonged visits by empresses and their children to villas around the Imperial capitals.[62] There was of course good reason to segregate children, particularly the heir to the throne, from the potential dangers of the imperial palace.[43] The same practice, however, is also hinted at in references to the villas of great aristocratic families. Symmachus talks of his son and daughter-in-law enjoying a protracted stay at Baiae with their grandmother.[44] Libanius describes how as a child he spent much of the year in the country, presumably at a villa owned by his family.[45] Clearly the villa, with its diverse opportunities for outdoor recreation, its farming establishment and its extensive grounds offered a generally more stimulating and secure environment for young children than the busy halls of their family's town house.

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[56] Ausonius *Ep.*27.90-102; Symmachus *Ep.*5.78.

[57] Symmachus *Ep.*6.58 (at the *rus Vaticanum*); Ausonius *Ep.*4.

[58] Symmachus spends the summer at Praeneste: *Ep.*1.5, 3.50, 7.35, 9.83; at Tivoli: *Ep.*6.81, 7.18, 31; at the *rus Vaticanum*: *Ep.*7.19, ?40; cf. Sidonius going to Avitacum in the summer: Sidonius *Ep.*2.12.

[59] Julian *Ep.*25.427C.

[60] *Ep.*9.83; cf.Amm.Marc. 28.6.4, Silva at his *suburbanum* near Leptis Magna *cum caritatibus*.

[61] Jerome *Ep.*107.11: *si quando ad suburbana pergis domi filiam non relinquas*.

[62] e.g. Justina and Valentinian at the Villa Murocincta in

Autumn drew the *dominus* to the country for two reasons; one was to hunt, the other to monitor the agricultural productivity of the estate.[46] The estates attached to many suburban villas may not have been large - these were not the great *latifundia* from which their owners derived their wealth - but the economic functions of the *suburbanum* should

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[42] (cont'd) November 374: Amm.Marc.30.10; Zosimus 4.19; the villa was thus more than a 'summer residence' as termed by A.Mocksy *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London, 1975) 302; Eudoxia at a *suburbanum* in the autumn: *V.Epiphanii* 61; Pulcheria and her sisters at Rufinianae: *V.Hypatii* 37.3; Theodora lives much of the year in suburban palaces: Procopius *HA* 15.36.

[43] cf. at a later date Gregory of Tours *HF* 6.41: Chilperic's son Lothar II sent to the Villa Victuriacensis for reasons of security.

[44] Symmachus *Ep*.2.17.

[45] Libanius *Or*.I.4; cf. J.Liebeschuetz (1972) 51 n.5.

[46] Hunting best in autumn: Oppian *Cynegetica* 1.115-146, 465-67; Symmachus hunting in the autumn: *Ep*.3.23, 8.2; Evangelus hunting at Tivoli in the late autumn: Macrobius *Sat*.7.15.16; Rutilius hunting at the Villa Triturrita in November 417: *De Red*.1.621-30.

not be underestimated.[67] The Romans called these estates *horti* (Greek κήποι), which might comprise a combination of ornamental garden, orchards, vineyards and market-garden.[68] They were assiduously farmed in order to provision the table of the *dominus*, both at the villa and in the city. When Symmachus is trying to persuade his friend Patruinus to return from his *suburbanum* to Rome, he argues that Patruinus will be able to enjoy the delicacies of his estate in the city no less than in the country.[69] So too in the *Saturnalia* we find Evangelus recounting the arrival in Rome of a catch of wild boar from his estate at Tivoli.[70]

The autumn vintage provided the *dominus* with an opportunity to take a more active interest in the agriculture of the estate and to join in the vintage festivities.[71] This was a tradition enjoyed no less by the Imperial family. In the 2nd century Marcus Aurelius had written to Fronto from his villa near Anagnia describing his obvious delight at participating in the vintage, while in the later 6th century we hear of the emperor Tiberius II leaving Constantinople at the time of the vintage to spend a month on his estates *iuxta ritum imperiale.*[72] The festivities provided a brief atmosphere of camaraderie between classes, an occasion for unsophisticated merriment shared by the *dominus* and the estate workers together.[73] But when the celebrations were over there was also the more serious task of talking to the bailiffs and evaluating the annual yield.[74]

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[67] J.Percival (1976) 54 defines the *villa suburbana* as being 'distinguishable from a town house only by being on the outskirts of a town rather than at its centre'. This, in a 4th century context at least, is a complete misconception.

[68] For a good discussion of the meaning of the word *hortus* see D.R.Shackleton-Bailey *Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M.Brutum* (Cambridge, 1980) 208 n.6. Orchards at Tivoli: Symmachus *Ep*.7.19; vineyards in the suburbs of Constantinople: *V.Epiphanii* 61, *V.Dan.Styl*. 25; we may recall Martial's description of Bassus' *picta villa* near Rome, *Epg*.3.58.2-3: *otiosis ordinata myrtetis, viduaque platano tonsilique buxeto*.

[69] *Ep*.8.19.

[70] Macrobius *Sat*.7.16.15: *apri ... de Tiburti agro ... perlati*; cf. Trimalchio's extravagant claim, Petronius *Sat*.3.48.2: *sed nunc quicquid ad salivam facit, in suburbano nascitur*; *S.H.A*.(Antoninus Pius) 7.5: *mensa eius per proprios servos, per proprios aucupes piscatores ac venatores instrueretur*.

[71] Attendance at the vintage: Eunapius *V.Phil*.467; Macrobius *Sat*.7.7.14; Symmachus *Ep*.3.23. Symmachus regards his involvement with the vintage as *otium*!

The ownership of more than one villa near a single city, such as we have noted in the case of rich families like the Valerii and Symmachi at Rome or the family of Ablabius at Constantinople, would mean that the seasons could be spent at a preferred property, or perhaps divided among several. One property might be best suited for one particular activity. In Symmachus' case his villa at Laurentum seems to have been a favourite hunting-ground.[75] Another property might require maintenance or be the scene of a new construction project, occasioning a visit by the *dominus* to inspect the progress of the work. Thus we find Symmachus urging his friend Attalus to renovate his villa at Tivoli - a recommendation evidently heeded, if the construction of a new bath-house was part of the project.[76]

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[72] Fronto *Ad M.Caes.*4.6.2; Greg.Tours *HF* 5.30.
[73] Fronto *loc.cit: in torculario cenavimus et rusticos cavillantes audivimus libenter.*
[74] Symmachus *Ep.*6.81; this he regards as *negotia rustica.*
[75] *Ep.*4.44, 7.15.

F. Summer excursions to the *villa maritima*

Longer excursions to coastal properties and thermal resorts provided further diversion for the rich for part of the year. The young Arcadius is said to have departed each summer for Ancyra, presumably to take advantage of a more salubrious climate and opportunities for thermal recuperation.[77] In the 6th century we hear how Justin II made month-long visits to Chalcedon to enjoy the bathing facilities there.[78] The aristocracy likewise flocked to resorts in summer and autumn, often moving their household for extended periods to villas they owned in the vicinity. The rich families of Rome headed mainly to resorts on the Etrurian and Campanian coasts.[79] Symmachus describes the journey south to Campania by land; it involved an elaborate and conspicuous procession of carriages, carts, horses, mules and servants - what Symmachus refers to as the

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[76] *Ep.*7.18, 20; there are also frequent references to rebuilding at Symmachus' own houses: *Ep.*6.70 (Rome), 1.12 (?Capua), 6.77 (Formiae), 2.60 (Naples).

[77] Claudian *In Eut.*2.95ff.

[78] John of Ephesus 3.1.26-27; *idem* 3.6.45-49: Anastasia, wife of Tiberius II, visits the baths at Ancialum; cf. Theophanes *Chron.* 548b: Constantine III at the baths at Mesembria in Thrace.

[79] Symmachus *Ep.*7.39: Decius Albinus enjoys the *vapores Etruscos*; cf. Rutilius Namatianus *De Red.*1.249: Rutilius visits hot springs near Centumcellae.

instrumentum viae.[80] This entourage followed the Via Appia southwards at a leisurely pace, halting for rests at different family properties along the route; from Rome to Cora for three days, then on to Formiae with an overnight stop at Tarracina.[81] At Formiae arrangements had to be made in advance to ensure that provisions were on hand at the villa when the party arrived.[82] From Formiae they continued south towards Cumae and the Bay of Naples. The journey by sea was perhaps less arduous, if potentially more hazardous. The preparations, however, must have been just as complex. On one occasion it required two ships to transport the whole of Symmachus' entourage from Cumae to Formiae.[83]

Very often then during the summer months, or even on into the autumn, the *villa maritima* became the focus of social activity.[84] Friends and relatives would converge on the coast to share an atmosphere of convivial leisure and recreation.[85] For Ammianus this was simply further proof of the moral decay of the upper class.[86] Symmachus, however, denies any frivolity but the vigorous defence of his own conduct suggests the type of criticism and prejudice that aristocratic hedonism was likely to arouse.[•'] Symmachus preferred to pass the days at his coastal villas in study and repose. As a justification for inactivity he offers the need to restore his health. Frequently he alludes to the health-giving properties of the sea air and talks of visits from his villas to nearby thermal resorts.[••]

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[80] *Ep.*2.17; cf.9.112: 'itineris apparatus'; cf. Sidonius *Ep.*4.18.1. For detailed descriptions of aristocratic retinues at this time: Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*29.12; Julian *Or.* 3.101D; E.D.Hunt (1982) 81.

[81] *Ep.*2.3.

[82] *Ep.*1.11 (to his father): *do fidem nihil herili mensae, nihil servitiis, aut pecori defuturum* (*pecus* here means 'horses and pack animals'; cf.4.58: *equini pecoris*).

[83] *Ep.*2I.4; cf.6I.77.

[84] Symmachus at Formiae in high summer: *Ep.*5.69, 6.75, 7.18, 31, 8.23; at Baiae and Puteoli in the autumn: *Ep.*1.7, 2.26.

[85] Symmachus *Ep.*8.23: *amicorum adfluentium*; 1.7: *catervas amicorum*.

[86] Amm.Marc. 28.4.18f.

G. The survival of the aristocratic *suburbanum*

It has been argued that during the 5th century the traditional links between town and country among the landowning classes were steadily eroded; that the burden of curial taxation was such that rich landowners increasingly were persuaded to abandon the towns and their civic responsibilities and to reside more permanently on their estates.[•'] But in fact such evidence as we have for the use of villas by rich landowners during this period suggests that the traditional role of the villa as a *suburbanum*, a place of intermittent residence by *domini* who maintained a high profile in urban affairs, did not change. Palladius' repetition of the old maxim *praesentia domini provectus est agri* would hardly have been necessary if his readers, whom

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[•'] *Ep*.8.23: *nullus in navibus canor, nulla in conviviis helluatio, nec frequentatio balnearum, nec ulli iuvenum procaces natatus.*

[••] *Ep*.2.55, 5.69. For the celebrated thermal complexes around the Bay of Naples see J.D'Arms (1970) 139ff.

[•'] A.H.M.Jones (1964) 762-3.

we shall suppose to have been the Gallo-Roman and Italian aristocracies of the second half of the 5th century, had not been used to periods of absence from their estates.[10] Sidonius certainly was an intermittent resident at his villa at Avitacum in the 460s.[11] Often too we catch a glimpse of his aristocratic friends, the rich landowners of later 5th century Gaul, journeying between the town and their villas. Lucontius departs for the country *ex oppido*;[12] Sidonius is impatient for Maurusius' return to Clermont from his estates nearby.[13] At the very end of the century the traditional use of the aristocratic *suburbanum* is well illustrated by the routine of Eulalius, bishop of Syracuse in A.D. 500. Eulalius preserved in relation to his country house (in fact part of a so-called monastery) a proper sense of priority; it was a place *cui semper adhaerebat quotiens ab ecclesiasticis actibus vacabat*, a refuge from city life offering an agreeable environment for the pursuit of timely and well-earned *otium*.[14] A few years later the same ideal finds expression in a letter of Cassiodorus: *quid enim fortunatius quam agrum colere et in urbe lucere.*[15] In Cassiodorus' writings the *villa urbana* survives as an enduring symbol of aristocratic status and a reminder of cultural continuity between the Late Roman world of the 4th century and the age of the Gothic kingdom of Italy.[46]

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[10] Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.6.1; cf. Columella *DRR* 1.1.18; Pliny *NH* 18.31.
[11] Sidonius *Ep.*2.12.2: *ad villulam egredi parabamus.*
[12] Sidonius *Ep.*4.18.1.
[13] *Ep.*2.14.1: *suspicor diuturnius te moraturum.*
[14] Ferrandus *V.Fulgentii* 8.
[15] Cassiodorus *Variae* 6.11.2.

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[46] For Cassiodorus' use of the term *villa urbana* see *Variae* 12.15.5 discussed below, chap.8.

III. GRANDEUR AND CEREMONY.

The villa of a rich Roman aristocrat was an important focus of his social life and as such was designed and embellished not merely for the comfort of its owner and his family but also as a conspicuous symbol of his social and economic status. The rich *dominus*, says Augustine, was expected to live *in aedificiorum exquisitissimus molibus, in nitore balnearum.*[17] For Sidonius the buildings of Leontius' villa, set high on a hill-top overlooking the river Garonne, were seen as a striking symbol of their owner's aristocratic station: *mons rumpens alta spectabilis arce plus celsos habiturus eros.*[18] Villa design involved a careful integration of architectural components, the symbolic significance of which was sometimes no less important than their functional purpose.

A. Villa entrances and façades.

Many features of the villa could be exploited architecturally to create an impression of grandeur. In the first place there was the villa's main gateway. While the practical needs of security demanded that the gateway should be strongly built and securely protected, there was also scope here for something architecturally imaginative and impressive.[99] The triple-arched gateway to the villa at Piazza Armerina (Fig.2) confronted the visitor with a strong symbol of authority in clear imitation of the monumental arches which graced the Imperial cities of the Late Roman world. A similar emphasis can often be detected in the treatment of the gateway in representations of villas in Late Antique literature and art. Expressions like *ante fores* and *πρὸ θυρῶν* occur with regularity in describing the approach of visitors to the villa of a powerful *dominus*.[100] A number of mosaics show houses with greatly emphasized front doors, sometimes quite out of proportion to the building's other features (Figs.3, 4, 5). The gates themselves are sometimes ornately decorated to add further emphasis to the image of power suggested by their massive construction. For example the artist of the so-called 'mosaic of Dominus Julius' found at Carthage has depicted a villa with an imposing central gateway richly decorated with what is probably some sort of metalwork appliqué (Fig.6).[101]

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[17] Augustine *Contra Acad.*1.1.2.
[18] Sidonius *Car.*22.115-6.

The 4th century artist's image of the aristocratic villa often shows the gateway itself flanked by towers which frame the entrance in a style which at once evokes the monumental architecture of city gates and palace entrances. As an illustration of the close relationship between villa and palace architecture one has only to compare the mosaicist's image of the villa of Dominus Julius at Carthage (Fig.6) with Theoderet's description of the portico and flanking towers of the Late Roman palace at Antioch: *στοὰ μεγίστη διώροφος τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπῳκοδόμηται περιβόλῳ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν ἔχουσα.*[102] In other mosaic images of villa façades the same twin towers recur with monotonous regularity (Figs.4, 5). There is a clear echo here of an architecural configuration which had become a favourite motif of Imperial architecture and whose symbolism was widely recognized and exploited.[103] That such towers were a real enough feature of villa architecture and not simply an artistic convention is clear not only from a number of literary references but also from the archaeological evidence of a few excavated Late Roman villas. Describing Adelphius' villa at Vanota, Gregory of Nyssa speaks admiringly of its *πύργων προβολαὶ.*[104] Ausonius talks of the towers of villas along the Moselle;[105] Palladius of the *turricula* projecting above the roof of his textbook *praetorium.*[106] Support for the veracity of these literary and artistic images is provided by a few excavated villas where we can with reasonable certainty postulate towers built into the villa's façade. One example is the façade of the villa at Montmaurin (Figs.8 and 9). The excavator speaks merely of 'salles absidales' (R64, 67) to each side of the main entrance, but it seems very probable that these absidal rooms in fact supported towers which rose up above the level of the forecourt portico and front wall. This seems particularly likely when we consider the position of these rooms at each end of the sweeping exedra of the forecourt. For such a combination of curving portico and towers is one that is often represented in Late Roman images of villa architecture (Fig.10).[107] Further evidence for towers built into the façade of a villa comes from the (?)5th century maritime building at Luka Polače on the island of Meldola (Fig.7).[108] Here again we find the villa's front gateway flanked by twin towers which in this case formed an important part of the villa's internal space.

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[99] cf. B.Tamm (1963) 99ff.

[100] e.g. Eunapius *V.Phil*.464; Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.20.9; Greg.Tours *HF* 9.35; cf. Claudian *De Cos.Stil*.2.114-5: *ambitio quae vestibulis foribusque potentum excubat*.

[101] A.Merlin *BAC* (1921) 95-114. The detail of the ornament is unfortunately lost in most photographic reproductions, e.g. K.Dunbabin (1978) Plate 43, Fig.109. An interesting parallel is seen in the ornate and emphasized doors of the rural buildings depicted on the Cesena dish, for which see P.Arrias *ASAA* 8-10 (1946-8) 309-345.

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[102] Theoderet *HE* 4.23 (=PG 82 col.1185).
[103] See especially E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 10ff; B.Tamm (1963) 99; S.MacCormack (1981) 28.
[104] Greg.Nyssa *Ep.*20.
[105] Ausonius *Moselle* 330.
[106] Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.24.1.

The main gateway usually gave access not to the interior of the villa but to a forecourt which was interposed between the main gate and the front door of the actual residence. (Figs.1, 8, 11). The forecourt again provided scope for architectural embellishment, a further chance to impress the visitor as he made his final approach to the doors of the house. The sources suggest that this was an opportunity rarely missed. Sidonius talks of the stylish forecourt (*vestibulum ... amoenissimum*) of Consentius' villa near Narbonne;[109] Symmachus, referring it would seem to the forecourt of his *villa maritima* at Naples, of its *geminam porticum curvatam*.[110] Several excavated villas confirm this architectural emphasis. We find forecourts framed by elegant porticoes, designed to add distinction and grandeur to the villa's entrance. At Piazza Armerina a graceful porticoed forecourt immediately beyond the triple-arched gateway gave access both to the house and to the baths (Fig.1).[111] Even more striking is the great crescent-shaped portico which surrounded the forecourt of the villa at Montmaurin and helped to accentuate the front doorway and porch of the house (Figs.8 and 9).

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[107] Dunbabin (1978) Fig.150. At a rather later date a similar turreted exedra appears among the extravagant architectural forms which Byzantine mosaicists created to adorn the early 8th century Ummayad mosque in Damascus: see E.De Lorey 'Les mosaïques de la Mosquée des Omeyyades à Damas' *Syria* 12 (1931) 326-349.
[108] For bibliography see Appendix 2.

It would be hard to deny the symbolic value of all these features - gateways, towers, forecourts - which could be employed collectively to create a dynamic and impressive entranceway to the villa of an aristocratic *dominus*. Many were borrowed from the repertory of palace architecture and as such reflect the close identification in the Late Roman world between the Imperial family and the aristocratic *potentiores*, the ruling classes from whose ranks the Imperial family rose to the pinnacle of power by violence, fortune or intrigue. Yet this in itself raises another important question. If in the architecture of the Late Roman aristocratic villa we can often identify a conscious reflection of contemporary palace architecture, is it fair to suppose that, just as the elaborate façades and gateways of the imperial palaces served as a carefully designed theatrical setting for certain forms of imperial ceremony, so too the emphatic architecture of some villa entrances was intended to provide a dramatic setting for certain ceremonial activities of the aristocratic household?

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[109] Sidonius *Ep*.8.4.1. For the definition of *vestibulum* (='forecourt') see Macrobius *Sat*.6.8.15-22; cf. B.Tamm (1963) 94ff.
[110] Symmachus *Ep*.2.60.2.
[111] See below chap 4 n.314.

B. Palace entrances and Imperial ceremony.

In order to understand the possible nature of such ceremonial activity, it will be useful first to look in some detail at what the sources reveal about Imperial ceremony and its relationship to palace architecture.[112] Unfortunately detailed evidence for ceremonial activity in the palaces of the Late Roman world is rare before the codification of imperial ceremony by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 10th century *Book of Ceremonies*.

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[112] The main studies on the subject are: J.Ebersolt (1910); E.Baldwin Smith (1953); B.Tamm (1963); E.Francovich (1970); and, more on the ceremony than its architectural setting: A.Alföldi 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells um römischen Kaiserhofe' *Röm.Mitt.*49 (1934) 3ff; C.Diehl (1901) 82-92; L.Bréhier *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1947); A.Vogt (1939).

Nevertheless the sources are sufficient to enable us to define in outline the various imperial functions which were accompanied by some degree of ceremonial pomp and circumstance. Important among these were the occasions of processional arrival (*adventus*) and departure (*profectio*) from the palace by the emperor and his entourage, which are particularly well attested during the period of the Tetrarchy and the later 4th century when the emperors were habitually itinerant between the various state capitals and palaces.[113] In the 5th and 6th centuries, after the court became more permanently established in Constantinople, such processional entrances and exits came to be associated more with occasions such as imperial funerals and religious festivals. The writers who describe these ceremonial occasions display an uneven interest in the architectural context in which the ceremonies took place. There is, however, more evidence than has often been recognized to link certain forms of ceremonial activity to specific architectural features of the imperial palace.

Ceremonies of *adventus* and *profectio* inevitable focused on the gateway of the building out of or into which the imperial procession was moving, but in addition to the gateway itself other related structures played an important part. In Vitalis' description of the royal palace in the mediaeval *Passio Thomae* the first feature mentioned within the palace gates is a *proaula* or forecourt.[114] Some of the ceremonial functions connected with this feature of palace architecture are apparent from earlier sources, in particular from Corippus' mid-6th century verse panegyric *In Laudem Iustini Minoris.*[115] In Corippus' poem a number of ceremonial activities are located in what he calls the *aula* of the palace at Constantinople. His descriptions make it clear that this is a courtyard located immediately inside the palace gates, corresponding in other words to the *proaula* of the palace described in the *Passio Thomae.*[116] It was here that a guard of honour was paraded for the arrival of the Avar embassy;[117] here too on another occasion that the palace guard hailed Justin and Sophia as they first entered the palace.[118] It was also here in the palace forecourt that the funeral procession for Justinian made ready to leave the palace. Describing this occasion Corippus gives a vivid picture of the courtyard crowded with officials and onlookers waiting for the procession to commence.[119] Here and elsewhere Corippus makes specific mention of the long porticoes which were the characteristic feature of the palace forecourt, displaying thereby his genuine concern to locate the ceremonies he is describing precisely within the complex topography of the imperial palace. With Corippus' descriptions of ceremonial reception in the *aula* of the palace at Constantinople we may also compare the account of Melania's reception by Serena in the palace at Rome in the early years of the 5th century. On this occasion she is said to have been greeted by the princess *in introitu porticus*, which would seem again to imply the forecourt within the palace gates.[120]

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[113] For a detailed treatment of the subject see S.MacCormack (1981) 17ff.

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[114] Odericus Vitalis *HE* 1.2.14 (=PL 188 col 160): *ecce ianuas hic disponam et ad ortum solis ingressum: primo proaulam secundo salutatorium in tertio consistorium.*

[115] See especially the recent editions and commentaries by A.Cameron (1976) and S.Antès (Budé ed. Paris 1981).

[116] Corippus *In Laud.Iust.*3.6-7: *ante fores iam [pompa] fuit, passimque per aulam porticibus longis stabant cum plebe senatus;* cf.*ibid.*3.165-6: *ingens excubitus divina palatia servans, porticibus longis porta condensus ab ipsa.* One may compare Theoderet *Ep.*169: *in aula enim maxima et quattuor habente porticus multitudo congregata fuit*; cf. Claudian *De Cos.Stil.*2.341: *rutilis hic pingitur aula columnis*, a description of the palace architecture depicted on Stilicho's consular robe. The reference is to the palace courtyard with its distinctive porphyry columns. There seems no justification in following Cameron (1976) 102-3 who translates *aula* in Corippus as 'palace'. As a result she talks of topographical vagueness on Corippus' part in locating the ceremonial activities which he describes, in fact with considerable precision.

[117] Corippus *In Laud.Iust.*3.165-6 quoted above; a similar scene greeted the arrival of Synesius to the court of Arcadius in 399 A.D.: Synesius *De Regno* (=PG 66 col 1084A), on which see C.Lacombrade (1951) 117ff.

[118] *ibid.*1.202ff; cf. Cassiodorus *Var.*6.3.4: *ingressus*

Less easy to define is the precise nature of the second feature of Vitalis' royal palace, which he calls the *salutatorium*. The word is not common in Late Roman sources where it is used mainly with reference to ecclesiastical architecture.[121] In this context the *salutatorium* was the

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[118](cont'd) *palatium nostra consuetudine frequenter adoratur* (referring to the pompous retinue of the *Praefectus Urbi* in 511.

[119] *ibid*.3.6-7 quoted above.

[120] *V.Melaniae* 12; cf. Marcus Diaconus *V.Porphyrii* 39-40 describing Porphyrius' reception by Eudoxia in the palace at Constantinople in 400 A.D. Eudoxia apologizes for failing to obsrve correct protocol. She should, she says, have greeted Porphyrius εἰς τὸ πρόθυρον but in view of her pregnancy preferred to wait for her guests in her rooms.

[121] See DuCange s.v. *salutatorium* for citations.

room in which the priests made ready to file into the church before the Mass.[122] It was also a room, as its name implies, where the bishop might receive formal greetings (*salutatio*) from members of the church. Paulinus of Milan describes how Ambrose's mother and sister used regularly to pay their respects to the bishops of Rome: *cum videret sacerdotibus a domestica sorore vel matre manus osculari* ... .[123] According to Cassiodorus, when Theodosius visited the cathedral in Milan seeking to atone for the bloody events in Thessalonica in A.D. 390, he found Ambrose waiting to receive him *residens in salutatorio.*[124] The room seems therefore to have had a double function both as an anteroom to the church and as an audience room. In a secular context the same may have been true. In mediaeval palace descriptions the word is applied to a structure located in all probability between the forecourt of the palace and the great audience hall, perhaps therefore as an anteroom to the latter.[125] The physical characteristics of the *salutatorium* are less certain. There is a rather unhelpful description of what is said to be the *salutatorium* of the palace of the Vandal king Hilderic in one of the poems of the *Anthologia Latina*.[126]

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[122] Agnellus *Lib.Pont.*149: *salutatorium unde procedunt usque hodie pontifices ad introitum missarum, palam populis videntibus;* cf. Greg.Great *Ep.*5.56: *procedens a salutatorio ad sacra missarum solemnia celebranda.*

[123] Paulinus of Milan *V.Ambrosii* 4.

[124] Cassiodorus *Hist.Trip.*9.30 (=PL 69 col 1146).

[125] Odericus Vitalis *HE* 1.2.14 quoted above; cf. the 9th century description of the palace of the Dukes of Spoleto at Farfa: J.Mabillon *Ann.Ord.S.Benedicti* II 383, where the *salutatorium* is said to be *iuxta maiorem domum*; cf. C.Huelsen *Röm.Mitt.*(1902) 258.

[126] E.Baehrens *Poetae Latini Minores* 208. The word

The room is merely said to be richly decorated and paved with white marble. In the palace at Constantinople in the mid-6th century the room which most probably served as a *salutatorium* was the so-called 'Chalke', a highly ornate domed structure which opened onto the palace forecourt (Procopius calls it a προτεμένισμα).[127] Procopius provides a detailed description of this building, whose function is in part suggested by the scenes of senatorial *salutatio* which he says were depicted in its mosaic decoration. Its location suggests that it was also a place where the emperor could receive the *salutatio* of large crowds gathered in the courtyard. Given the rather fragile evidence for this feature of palace architecture, however, it is difficult to attribute the name *salutatorium* with much confidence to any surviving feature of Late Roman palace architecture. Probably the most convincing claim is that made for the domed entrance hall of Diocletian's palace at Split (Fig.56 R5).[128] For this room seems to fulfil both requirements of the *salutatorium*; on the one hand it looks out onto an internal courtyard (R4) and on the other served as an anteroom to the much larger hall to the south (R6).

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[126] (cont'd) *salutatorium* appears only in the superscription to the poem and is therefore probably of a later date, but how much later is uncertain. For discussion see M.Rosenblum (1961) 65-69.

[127] Procopius *Buildings* 1.10.11-20. On this feature of the palace see in particular J.Ebersolt (1910) 15-16; E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 132-138; C.Mango *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959).

[128] E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 142.

C. Villa entrances and aristocratic ceremony.

We have looked at the ceremonial nature of imperial *adventus* and *profectio* and its relationship to the architecture of the imperial palaces. What we must now consider is whether there is evidence to suggest that the corresponding components of villa architecture, the elaborate gateways, forecourts and porches had any similar ceremonial associations. This is a question which has rarely been asked. Only in the case of Piazza Armerina has a connection been suggested between the triple-arched gateway with its inside forecourt and the architecture of palace gateways and *proaulae*.[129] Is there, however, any evidence in the context of villas for the type of ceremonial *adventus* or *profectio* for which the great palace entrances and forecourts were created?

When an aristocratic entourage arrived at a great villa the occasion must have had a certain air of spectacle and ceremony about it particularly if, as often happened, the visitors to the villa were invited there to share in some festive occasion such as a birthday or wedding.[130] We have already noted the evidence for the pompous appearance of aristocratic retinues as they progressed through the countryside towards their villas.[131] As the procession of carriages, mule carts and horses approached the villa there must have been at least some sense of occasion felt among the villa staff who awaited the arrival of their *dominus* or some important guest. As the carts and carriages rattled into the forecourt, servants and grooms were at hand to attend to the family and their guests. The forecourt became a hive of activity as servants hurried to unload the carts and ushered the *dominus* or his guests into the house.[132] Stepping from his horse or carriage the visitor to the villa might anticipate a formal welcome from the *dominus*. This might take place in the forecourt but more likely was reserved for the entrance-hall which opened off it. This was a room likely to receive special architectural emphasis, for it was here that the visitor to the villa experienced his first taste of the interior decoration that awaited him further inside the villa. An ornate decor here would give a memorable first impression to the villa's guests. It was also a place for more solemn purposes, for honouring the household gods or displaying busts of one's aristocratic forebears. The entrance-halls of several Late Roman villas clearly illustrate these functions. We find entrance-halls built with striking plans, sometimes circular as at Valentine (Fig.11, R20) and Ruoti (Fig.13, R5), sometimes polygonal as at Desenzano (Fig.18) and Lalonquette.[133] Niches in the walls, for example at Ruoti, Valentine and Montmaurin (Fig.8, R61), suggest the insertion of family portrait busts, or perhaps a small *lararium*.[134] The decoration of these entrance-halls is in many cases suitably rich and impressive. Of particular interest is the decoration of the entrance-hall at Piazza Armerina (Fig.1 R3). For here on the pavement the *dominus* or visitor was confronted with a scene which has usually been interpreted as one of formal *salutatio* directed towards the person entering the villa (Fig.12).[135] If, as seems possible, the scene depicted on the floor here represents the kind of formal *salutatio* which actually took place in this room, it suggests that the entrance-hall played a role somewhat akin to that of the palace *salutatorium*. The image on the pavement served as a permanent reminder of those special occasions of *adventus* or *profectio* which called for a more formal and ceremonial pageantry.[136]

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[129] E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 143; S.Settis (1975) 987-8; H.Kahler (1973) 14, 35; any direct Imperial associations are refuted by N.Duval (1978) 52.

[130] For weddings at villas see below chap 4.

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[131] See above chap 1.

[132] Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.6.8: *ὡς δὲ ἤδη τῆς στοᾶς ἐντὸς ἐγενόμεθα ... δήμος κύκλῳ περὶ ἡμᾶς πεπυκνωμένοι ὡς μηδὲ κατελθεῖν τοῦ ὀχήματος εὔπορον εἶναι*; cf. Sulpicius Severus *V.Martini* 8 (=PL20 col.165): *atque ita cum eo usque ad vestibulum domus turba omni expectante processit*, describing the arrival of St.Martin at the villa of the *honoratus* Lupicinus in Gaul ca.395 A.D.

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[133] For bibliography see Appendix 2.

[134] G.Fouet (1978) 150; *idem* (1983) 66.

[135] For a detailed analysis see H.P.L'Orange 'The Adventus Ceremony and the slaying of Pentheus represented on two mosaics c.300' *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honour of A.M.Friend Jr.* (Princeton 1955) 7-14. Direct Imperial associations in this mosaic, however, have more recently been rejected: N.Duval (1978) 45; R.J.Wilson (1983) 90.

[136] For a comparable representational scene, see for example the mosaic of the musicians in the dining-hall of the house at Miriamin in Syria, below chap.4.A and Fig.27.

One such occasion, one which as we have already seen gave rise to a high degree of ceremonial in an Imperial context, was a funeral. The kind of dramatic *profectio* illustrated by the departure of Justinian's funeral procession from the palace in Constantinople is closely reflected in accounts of 4th and 5th century aristocratic funerals. The most detailed picture we have is that of Macrina's funeral which took place in 379 or 380 A.D. at the family's villa at Anissa in Pontus.[137] Although virtually no details are given of the villa's architecture, what is relevant here is that the funeral procession is said to have set off from the forecourt (προαύλιον) of the house.[138] Here the crowd of mourners gathered together in preparation for the cortège, singing hymns and lamentations for the deceased. At dawn the procession finally set off, leaving the house in full ceremonial style, heading for the private martyrium where members of the family were buried.[139] To facilitate and accentuate such ceremonial occasions the architecture of the villa needed to be an artful combination of the functional and the impressive, to serve at the same time both a practical and a symbolic purpose. In a building devoted primarily to the pursuit of *otium* the costly embellishment of the entrance and forecourt reminded the visitor from the start of the aristocratic *dignitas* which shrouded the person of the *dominus*.

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[137] Greg.Nyssa *V.Macrinae* 33-4 (=*SChr* 178 ed. P.Maraval, Paris 1971). On the precise date and location *ibid.*38-44, 57-67; G.de Jerphanion *MFO* 5.1 (1911) 333-354.
[138] *ibid.*33. Maraval (48 n.2) thinks that this may refer to a feature of the church where Macrina was to be buried, but this is hardly likely since the church was the destination of the procession which at this point has not yet set off.
[139] For this chapel see Greg.Nyssa *In XL Mart.*784D-785A; Maraval 187 n.3. For similar chapels on private estates: Greg.Nyssa *Ep.*20.8; Callinicus *V.Hypatii* 8.4; *V.Theodori Sykeotae* 107; Sidonius *Ep.*8.4.1, *Car.*22.200; Jerome *V.Hilar.*31.

D. Palace audience halls and Imperial ceremony.

Turning now to the rooms within the villa, the question arises whether here too a conscious effort was made to create an architectural environment suitable for certain forms of ceremonial activity. If this is suspected, we obviously need first to ask what the nature of such ceremonial activities might have been. Again we will begin by looking briefly where the evidence is fullest, at the practices of the Imperial house. Within the Imperial palaces one of the main opportunities for pomp and ceremony was the occasion of an Imperial audience, when the emperor appeared in an administrative or judicial capacity before an invited delegation or distinguished visitor. Such functions took place amidst much ceremony in a spacious hall referred to in the sources as the *consistorium* (Greek κονσιστώριον).[140] In 4th and 5th century sources we find disappointingly little information concerning the appearance of such halls, although some details are given of the ceremonial procedures of the audiences themselves. Ammianus describes the final audience given by Valentinian in th palace at Brigetio in which the visiting delegation of Quadi knelt in obeisance before the enthroned emperor (*cum membris incurvatis starent*).[141] Describing Ursicinus' audience with Constantius in the palace at Milan the same author refers to a formal announcement by a *magister admissionum*, following which Ursicinus was admitted to the emperor's presence and offered his purple robe (*offertur purpura*), presumably for him to touch as a gesture of allegiance.[142] When Ambrose headed a delegation to the court of Maximus at Trier in 393 A.D. he describes how Maximus insisted on a formal audience in the *consistorium* (*retulit non posse me nisi in consistorio videri*) because here the ceremonial formality of the occasion would give the *princeps* a psychological advantage over his appellant.[143] Maximus duly appeared in the *consistorium* enthroned on an elevated platform (*hortari coeperunt alii ut ascenderem*) but whether use was also made of a ceremonial baldachin or ciborium is not indicated. It has been argued that this type of ceremonial architecture was first introduced into imperial audience halls in the late 3rd or early 4th century A.D. but its use at this date may have been restricted to occasions of particular ceremonial importance.[144] By the later 5th century, however, the ciborium appears as an apparently routine feature of the audience hall of Theodoric II the Visigoth, who may well have adopted this paraphernalia in imitation of Roman ceremonial practice. Sidonius describes how the king appeared in the audience hall seated on a canopied throne flanked by armed guards, the entire structure set back behind a screen (*cancellae*) from the other side of which the *legationes gentium* awaited a royal audience.[145] The most detailed description of audience ceremony in 6th century Constantinople is unquestionably Corippus' account of the reception of the Avar embassy by Justin II in 565 A.D.[146] In the audience hall the emperor was seated on a gilded throne beneath an ornate baldachin designed to symbolize the cosmic nature of his power.[147] The walls shone with gilded mosaics, the floor with marble paving covered with precious rugs. The doors were draped with hanging curtains; covers were also spread over the benches which had been arranged in long lines for the senators and officials who attended the reception. The dramatic climax of the ceremony was the moment when the curtain which hung in front of the throne was drawn back to reveal the person of the emperor. The same scene is repeated, though with less detail, in other 5th and 6th century sources, specifically in the accounts of the imperial audiences granted to Synesius by Arcadius and to the monk Sabas by Justinian.[148]

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[140] In general see A.H.M.Jones (1964) 333-341.

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[141] Amm.Marc.30.6.2.
[142] *idem* 15.5.18.
[143] Ambrose *Ep.*24.3.
[144] E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 128-9.

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[145] Sidonius *Ep.*1.2.4.

[146] Corippus *In Laud.Iust*.3.151ff. For discussion of this passage see: A.Cameron (1976) 188; J.Ebersolt (1910) 41.

[147] A.Cameron *loc.cit.* for discussion and references. There is no specific evidence to link this throne to an apse. Reconstructions of the *consistorium* have usually interpreted it as a rectangular hall: thus J.Ebersolt (1910); A.Vogt (1939). One may compare the large rectangular hall immediately to the south of the so-called *salutatorium* of the palace at Split. On the other hand it is well known that episcopal thrones were commonly placed in apses: e.g. Augustine *Ep.*126.1; Agnellus *Lib.Pont*.27; cf. the *in situ* remains of a reveted brick throne in the apse of the late 4th century Christian basilica at Gamzigrad: Čanak Medić (1978) 231, Fig. p.100 Room D.

E. Audience-hall ceremony in aristocratic houses.

Outside the imperial palaces such ceremonial conduct is reflected most clearly in the procedures of the Late Roman judiciary. Descriptions of courtroom scenes, in terms of their architectural environment, are strongly reminiscent of the accounts we have already looked at of the workings of the imperial *consistorium*. Claudian presents a picture of Stilicho, in his judicial role as consul, seated on an ivory throne in the forum.[149] John Chrysostom describes a courtroom scene in which the judge appears seated on a raised canopied throne (ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ βήματος) behind a screen (κιγκλίδες) before which the accused are led.[150] A century later Cassiodorus makes frequent reference to high-ranking members of the Romano-Gothic administration appearing in a judicial capacity with almost as much pomp and ceremony as the emperor himself. The Count of Naples, for example, is pictured dispensing justice from the official throne in his *praetorium* at Naples, surrounded by crowds of officials and onlookers.[151] Episcopal courts are also described. In the late 6th century *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* there is a detailed description of the trial of a corrupt farm manager (*προτίκτωρ*) by the bishop's court in Anastasiopolis.[152] The trial took place in a crowded council chamber (*σεκρέτον*) and during the proceedings the accused, a certain Theodosius, became so enraged that he kicked the throne on which the bishop was seated, causing him to fall headlong onto the pavement.

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[148] On the former see Synesius *De Regno* 12 (=PG 66 col.1084A); C.Lacombrade (1951) 119. On the latter Cyril of Skythopolis *V.Sabae* 51, 71 (ed. E.Schwartz *Texte und Untersuchungen* 49.2, Leipzig 1939).
[149] Claudian *De Cos.Stil*.3.199-201.
[150] John Chrysostom *De Incomp.Dei Nat*.4.4 (=PG 48 col.733).

In addition to these courtroom scenes we have several accounts of official assemblies and councils which suggest a similar preoccupation with ceremonial protocol. In a letter of Augustine there is preserved a record of the proceedings of an episcopal synod held in the *Ecclesia Pacis* in Hippo in 426 A.D.[153] The church was filled with bishops, clerics and a large crowd of onlookers. Augustine presided over the assembly from his bishop's throne, delivering an address which was punctuated by frequent outbursts of formal

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[151] Cassiodorus *Variae* 6.23.3: *praetoria tua officia replent, militum turba custodit. Considis geniatum (? gemmatum) tribunal: sed tot testes pateris quot te agmina circumdare;* cf. similar references to the ceremonial conduct of the *Princeps Dalmatiae* (7.24.1) and the *Praefectus Urbi* (6.3.8).

[152] *V.Theodori Syceotae* 75-76 (=*Mnemeia Hagiologica* Venice 1884, 429-30); for a translation of which see E.Dawes and N.H.Baynes *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford 1948).

[153] The so-called *Gesta Ecclesiastica* contained in Augustine *Ep.*213.

salutatio on the part of the assembled masses. A comparable scene is recorded in the *Gesta Senatus Romani*, a 5th century document which describes the ceremonial proceedings of a meeting of the Roman senate, held in the house of the consul Anicius Glabrio Faustus in Rome in December 438 A.D.[154] Again an atmosphere of strict protocol is suggested by the solemnly repeated salutations to the reigning emperor Valentinian III.

The buildings in which these judicial and administrative assemblies took place are frequently specified in the sources but rarely described. One thing that is clear, however, is that these ceremonial functions are invariably located in urban contexts. In some cases this meant the official residences (Latin *praetoria*) of the governors or bishops concerned, in others their private town houses where, according to John Lydus, such official duties continued to be carried out at least until the middle of the 5th century A.D.[155] It is therefore not surprising to find that large halls suitable for such purposes appear as a recurring feature of many rich Late Roman town houses.[156] In these halls the *dominus* conducted his official and private business (*negotium*). Here he dealt with petitions from his clients, received their formal *salutatio* and issued instructions to his *procuratores*. If his station required it he might also have to preside over certain forms of official assembly. The whole atmosphere of business and ceremony is summed up by Paulinus of Pella, describing life in Bordeaux at the beginning of the 5th century: *cum mihi laeta domus ... nec pompa minor polleret honoris instructa obsequiis et turba fulta clientum.*[157]

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[154] Contained in Mommsen *Codex Theodosianus* 1.2.

[155] John Lydus *De Magistratibus* 2.20.1: ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἑδρῶν ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφεπων ἔπραττε. καὶ τοῦτο ἄχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λέοντος διέμεινεν; cf. at an earlier date Vitruvius *De Aed*.6.5.2: *quod in domibus eorum saepius et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur*. For *praetorium* as governor's palace in Late Roman sources: Paulinus of Milan *V.Ambrosii* 3; Jerome *Ep*.108.9; Cassiodorus *Variae* 6.23.3.

[156] For numerous examples see S.Ellis (1985); cf. also the great hall of the 'praetorium' at Gortyn in Crete: A.M.Colini *Kret.Khron*. 25 (1973) 469-70.

Is there then any evidence to suggest that similar ceremonial activity also took place at rural villas? Were there for instance occasions when the aristocratic *dominus* of the villa offered formal audiences to his clients or *coloni*?[158] Were there occasions when as patron of a large *clientela* the *dominus* was required to appear before his subordinates in the role of administrator or judge? Were the ceremonial audiences of the imperial palace and the aristocratic town-house in any way echoed in the routine life of an aristocratic household resident at its country estate? It has sometimes been claimed, or at least implied, that this was indeed the case. Terms such as 'throne room', 'salle d'honneur' and 'Versammlungsraum' have readily been applied to the features of excavated villas, suggesting some sort of ceremonial function, although precisely what this may have been has never been adequately explained.[159] When we look closely at the evidence, however, we find very little to support the view that villas were used for official or ceremonial audiences. For a start we have to remember that the villa was usually regarded as a place of refuge from the pressures of public business and official duties.[160] With the amount of entertaining which went on at some villas it may well be doubted whether they always provided quite as much tranquility as was sometimes claimed by their owners, but what mattered was the substitution of *otium* for *negotium*, the freedom to abandon the pompous trappings of officialdom and relax with one's friends.[161] The crowd of *persecuti* who delayed Sidonius' departure for his villa one summer were presumably just the sort of persistent hangers-on from whom he was trying his best to escape.[162] Such business as did need to be done was generally conducted with a minimum of formality. As much as possible estate matters were dealt with indirectly by the

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[157] Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*435-7.
[158] R.J.Wilson (1983) 25, 91.
[159] For these and similar terms see for example A.Grenier (1906) 160; G.Fouet (1978) 150; W.Modrijan (1971) 19.

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[159](cont'd) Particularly extravagant claims have been made in attributing imperial ownership, and therefore forms of imperial ceremony, to such Late Roman buildings as the villas at Piazza Armerina and Meleda, and the so-called 'Palace of Theoderic' at Ravenna; see especially H.P.L'Orange and E.Dyggve 'È un palazzo di Massimio Erculio che gli scavi di Piazza Armerina portano alla luce?' *Symbolae Osloenses* 29 (1952) 114-128; E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 143-5; H.Kahler (1973); S.Settis (1975) 46ff; E.Dyggve (1959) 21ff; G.De Angelis D'Ossat 'L'aula regia del distrutto palazzo imperiale di Ravenna' *CARB* (1976) 345-358. More recently these claims have been seriously challenged: N.Duval *Felix Ravenna* 115 (1978) 27-64; R.J.Wilson (1983) 80, 86ff.

[160] Symmachus *Ep*.4.44; Ausonius *Ep*.6; Ferrandus *V.Fulgenti* 2; cf. at an earlier date Pliny *Ep*.1.9; Apuleius *Apol*.88.

[161] cf. Julian *Or*.3.121D for a vivid contrast between private life and the pomp and ceremony of public life.

[162] Sidonius *Ep*.4.8.1.

dominus through his agents (*procuratores*) and bailiffs (*vilici*, *actores*; Greek ἐπιτρόποι).[163] These were the people from whom, according to Salvian, the peasant farmers had most to fear.[164] Tenant farmers and estate workers were subject to summary decisions by the *dominus* executed on his behalf by these agents and bailiffs. Thus we hear that the *illustris* Olybrius, owner of a villa near Praeneste towards the end of the 4th century, used his bailiff Artemisius to evict the *incolae* of nearby land to which he claimed title.[165] Augustine tells of a certain *conductor* of an estate near Hippo who, having somehow offended his *dominus*, fled for protection to Augustine's church. Augustine wrote to Cresconius, the local *Praefectus Custodiendo Litori* on Faventius' behalf, urging him to ensure that Faventius was given a trial in the municipal court (*apud Acta municipalia*).[166] Augustine presumably was sure that he would receive no such judicial treatment at the hands of his *dominus*. A more conscientious *dominus* might adopt a more consultative approach to administering justice but still, where we hear of cases involving disobedient or immoral slaves, there is nothing in the sources to suggest that such cases were dealt with in any but a summary manner.[167] There is no indication, in the context of rural villas, of the sort of formal summons or judicial assemblies which we have seen as a feature of official life in the towns. In fact a law of 369 A.D. specifically warns provincial *iudices* against abandoning their official duties for the delights of country life (*non deverticula deliciosa sectetur*).[168] All this would suggest then that the great halls which are often found as a feature of Late Roman villas were not built for the conduct of ceremonial *negotium*. So the question remains what were they used for? If not for *negotium*, then presumably for *otium*. We must next, therefore, consider the nature of aristocratic *otium*, what it meant in practice and in what ways the demands of leisure and hospitality influenced the design of the villa.

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[163] For these individuals see especially Symmachus *Ep*.6.8, 12, 66; Sidonius *Ep*.5.20.4; Ausonius *Ep*. 26; Greg.Tours *HF* 9.38; Eunapius *V.Phil*.467; John Chrysostom *Ep*.14.3. In Palladius (*Op.Ag*.1.6.18)the farm manager is referred to as the *agri praesul*.

[164] Salvian *De Gub.Dei* 4.3: *pavent quippe actores, pavent silentiarios, pavent procuratores*.

[165] Symmachus *Rel*.28.1-3.

[166] Augustine *Ep*.113, 115.

[167] Symmachus *Ep*.6.8: *vestra in manum est utrum hoc inultum*

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[167] (cont'd) *esse patiamini*; Sidonius *Ep*.5.19: *petere dignaris culpae calentis impunitatem. sub condicione concedo*; cf. also Synesius *Ep*.145.

[168] *Cod.Theod*.1.16.12; cf. R.J.Wilson (1983) 94 n.73.

IV. LIBRARIES

A. *Frequentatio* and the *ordo hospitalitatis*

The villa of a great aristocrat was a place of intensive activity. Not only was it likely to be the centre of a functioning agricultural establishment but it was also a building designed and staffed to provide for the recreational tastes of its owner. Moreover it was a place to which numerous family members, friends and clients would gravitate at the invitation of the *dominus* to share with him the various pleasures of country life. Symmachus considered it a mark of honour that he should play host to numerous friends while staying at his *suburbanum* near Rome.[169] When visiting his properties in Campania he talks of entertaining floods of visitors (*amicorum adfluentium largiter est*), a task which he sees as a natural expectation of his consular rank.[170] He seems little surprised when his father threatens to fill his villa at Baiae with additional crowds of friends.[171] In the same way the houses of other 4th and 5th century aristocrats are often described, perhaps without too much exaggeration, as overflowing with guests.[172] Not that entertaining on such a lavish scale was always seen as cause for satisfaction; Jerome describes how the noble lady Paula, committed by her rank to constant entertainment and hospitality, took little delight in the pressure it afforded: *nec diu potuit .... visitationes et frequentiam sustinere.*[173]

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[169] Symmachus *Ep.*6.32: *frequentiam mihi quae Romae honorabilis iudicatur.*
[170] *Ep.*8.23.3: *ubique vitam agimus consularem*; cf.*Ep.* 7.18.2.
[171] *Ep.*1.7; cf. *Ep.*2.23.2 for numerous relatives at his mother's Campanian villa.
[172] e.g. Claudian *Pan.Probino et Olybrio* 46: *populis undare penates* (Anicius Probus); Sidonius *Ep.*8.4.1: *hospites epulis*

This picture of *frequentatio* at the villas of the rich is further emphasized by the countless invitations we find in the surviving correspondence between aristocrats of the period, urging their friends to join them in house parties on their estates. The pretexts for socializing were unlimited: often invitations were sent to join in sporting events, usually hunting parties, sometimes fishing trips;[174] at other times friends were invited to share their literary interests;[175] in addition religious festivals, weddings, birthdays, even funerals provided ready excuses for a social occasion.[176]

House guests might stay for several days and entertaining them successfully involved a full repertory of

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[172](cont'd) *pascit te pascit hospitibus* (with reference to Consentius' villa near Narbonne).

[173] Jerome *Ep.*108.6; for a complaint of a different kind cf. Symmachus *Ep.*6.70: *frequentatio* is a cause of considerable wear and tear on one's house.

[174] Hunting parties: Symmachus *Ep.*3.23, 4.18, 7.15, 7.26; Basil *Ep.*14; Synesius *Ep.*130, 134, 148. Fishing expeditions: Sidonius *Ep.*2.12.1. See J.A.McGeachy (1942) 112ff.

[175] Most obviously in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*; but cf. also Ausonius *Ep.*4, 6, 11.

[176] Religious festivals as occasions for entertaining: Macrobius *Sat.*, Julian *Misopogon* 362D; weddings: Ausonius *Ep.*5.50, Symmachus *Ep.*7.19, Ammianus Marc. 19.9.7; birthdays: Julian *Misopogon* 363B-C, Ausonius *Ep.*5; funerals: Synesius *Ep.*3.

activities, the nature of which is well defined in a number of Late Roman sources. The routine was largely conventional - what Sidonius refers to as the *ordo hospitalitatis*; rarely it would seem was there much deviation from the predictable pattern.[177] The early mornings were often devoted to supervision of the farm establishment.[178] Relaxation would follow with the gathering of house guests for gaming or conversation before the mid-day meal.[179] Following lunch and a siesta the company would generally reconvene for some form of exercise, to hunt, ride, walk or play at ball.[180] Exercise was followed by a visit to the bath-house which provided an important focus for hospitality at the villa. After bathing there was a chance for further conversation or board games until it was time for the *cena*. Dining and entertainment occupied the whole evening and might continue well into the night.[181]

This routine of aristocratic hospitality required an elaborate architectural setting: rooms were needed to accommodate large indoor gatherings, for dinner parties and their accompanying entertainments, and for recreation and exercise. We will begin by focusing on the first of these requirements, the need for a room in which the *dominus* could entertain his guests before meals or during the vacant hours of the morning or afternoon. Can such rooms be identified in the plans of excavated villas and if so what were the criteria for their construction? The answer to these questions involves a wider issue, that of the aristocratic fondness for devoting vacant hours to the study and discussion of literature. For, as we shall see, guests to the villa of an aristocratic *dominus* were commonly expected to join with their host in the sharing of literary interests and tastes.

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[177] Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.2. The summary which follows is based largely on Sidonius' accounts of social life at the villas of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy in the second half of the 5th century, for which see C.E.Stevens (1933) 68-72; S.Dill (1898) 207; and more generally J.K.Marquardt (1886) 1.250ff.

[178] Sidonius *Ep*.1.2.4 (Theoderic inspects stables); Olympiodorus Fr.26; Augustine *Contra Acad*.2.4.10: *paululumque cum rusticis egimus quod tempus urgebat* (at Verecundus' villa near Milan).

[179] For gaming as a favourite pastime of the Late Roman aristocracy: Augustine *Contra Acad*.1.1.2; Sidonius *Car*.23. 490-1; Ammianus Marc.28.4.21; Macrobius *Sat*.1.5.11. In general J.K.Marquardt (1886) 2.847ff.

[180] Again the best evidence is from 5th century Gaul, in particular: Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.15, 2.9.7, 3.3.2, 4.9.2, 8.6.11-12, 8.11.8, *Car*.23. 490-94; Paulinus of Pella *Euch*.125-146; Hilarieus *V.Honorati* 6.

[181] Prudentius *Hamartigenia* 323-4.

B. Literary dilettantism

A fervour for literary dilettantism pervades much of the epistolary literature of the late 4th and early 5th centuries. This quintessential feature of aristocratic *otium* was something for which the villa, with its harmonious blend of pastoral tranquility and material comfort, provided a highly conducive environment. The villas of the aristocracy were commonly perceived by their wealthy owners as ideal havens for literary activity. Symmachus tells how his father, forced to leave Rome following disturbances there in 375 A.D., spent the next few few months in studious seclusion at his country estate: *curarum vacuus animum litteris excolebat.*[182] Symmachus himself often strikes a similar scholastic pose.[183] So do his aristocratic friends, men like Naucellius who writes complacently of the leisured repose he enjoys at his villa near Spoletium where he is free to pore over the great works of Classical literature.[184] His contemporary Ausonius, writing from his villa near Saintes in Aquitania, speaks of the variety of manuscripts he has at his disposal there.[185]

Nor was it just the study of literature which provided a focus for the vacant hours of *otium*; equally important were the attempts, not always very successful, to produce it. The prolific literary legacy of the late 4th and early 5th century aristocracies in many parts of the Roman world bears witness to the considerable energy which many men of rank and wealth devoted towards this end. Again there is much to indicate that it was particularly in the quiet of their suburban villas that the leisured classes found an environment well suited to the task of literary composition. Numerous literary epistles, admittedly of very uneven literary merit, written by some of the great aristocrats of the age, reveal in their lines their origin from the leisured surroundings of a country house. Many of Symmachus' letters, for example, were penned from one or other of his villas near Rome or in Campania.[186] Nearly a century later in Gaul we can trace the origin of several of Sidonius' letters to the seclusion of his villa at Avitacum.[187] The exchange of letters was often accompanied by an exchange of trifling poetic compositions, the production of which seems to have been a cherished achievement of rural *otium*. While Naucellius promises that he will take advantage of the *facultas ruris* to write some poems for his friend Nonius Atticus, his efforts at literary composition in the grounds of his villa near Spoletium are pondered by another aristocratic friend, Symmachus.[188] Symmachus makes similar enquiry of his colleague Priscus Attalus who is enjoying a visit to his villa at Tivoli: *Tiburtibus pomariis litterarii operis exerceas?*[189] Meanwhile he himself is found at his villa at Bauli composing honorific poems for the portraits of the villa's founder and his family.[190]

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[182] Symmachus *Or*.5.1; cf. Matthews (1975) 20.
[183] Symmachus *Ep*.3.50: *ego me in secessu anteurbano adserui lectioni;* cf. 7.18.3.
[184] Naucellius *Epg. Bob.* 5: *docta revolventem scripta virum veterum.*
[185] Ausonius *Ep*.10.25ff.

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[186] e.g. *Epp*.3.50, 7.35, 9.83 (from his villa at Praeneste); 4.44, 7.15 (from Laurentum); 1.7, 7.73 (from Baiae); cf. O.Seeck (1883) xlv - xlvi; J.A.McGeachy (1942) 173f.

[187] Sidonius *Ep*.2.2, 3.12, 4.8.

[188] Naucellius *Epig.Bob*.57; Symmachus *Ep*.3.13.12: *dum carmina tua ruminas, dum epigrammata oblatis lucis aut amnibus facis. Epig.Bob*.48, a poem written by Naucellius to commemorate the *Balnea Attici* may well represent the results of these efforts.

[189] Symmachus *Ep*.7.18.3.

[190] *Ep*.1.1.2.

C. Private libraries in town and country

Given the great emphasis on literary activity in aristocratic households of the 4th and 5th centuries, it is not surprising to find frequent mention in sources for the period of many great private libraries. In Rome itself a number of aristocratic families are credited with the possession of impressive libraries of Greek and Latin literature.[191] Among the provincial aristocracies also many large private collections are attested.[192] Most of these collections can fairly securely be placed in an urban context, but there are also indications that libraries were no less a feature of country houses, and that a prolonged visit to the country might well entail the transportation of part of the library from one location to the other. Just as Fronto in the 2nd century is found setting off for his villa near Lorium with a *multitudo librorum* to preoccupy him during his stay in the country, so Paulus is urged to pay a visit to Ausonius at his villa near Bordeaux and to bring with him in his carriage all the volumes he can carry of his own writings.[193] At his villa near Saintes too Ausonius claims to have with him a considerable collection of literature, including poems of Pindar, books of Thucydides and Herodotus, and several works of rhetoric and philosophy.[194]

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[191] Macrobius *Sat*.5.3.17, Symmachus *Ep*.4.18.5 (*domus Symmachorum*); Macrobius *ibid*.1.6.1 (Vettius Praetextatus); Jerome *Ep*.22.30, for which see Kelly (1975) 20; Cassiodorus *Inst*.23.1 (Anicii).

[192] Paulinus of Nola *Epp*.16.6, 28.5; Julian *Ep*.23; Sidonius *Ep*.8.11, *Car*.24.92.

[193] Fronto *Ad M.Caes*.4.4.2; Ausonius *Ep*.6.35-40; cf. *idem Ep*.10.21ff. where Paulus is asked not to bring too many books for fear it delay his departure.

Less commonly the sources make specific mention of *bybliothecae* in villas, rooms where presumably the *codices* which accompanied the *dominus* to his country house were kept during his stay there. Pope Hilarius' suburban villa, we are told, contained two such rooms.[195] Sidonius mentions a *bybliotheca* in the villa of his relative Ferreolus.[196] The use of these rooms which are called *bybliothecae*, however, extended beyond their function simply as a place to store *codices* and to study. Although there is no reason to doubt that some of the literary activity which we have seen attested in the context of rural villas was conducted within the confines of these libraries, most of the literary references to villa libraries concentrate not on the use of these rooms for private study but rather on their more public role in the social life of the villa's owner.

D. Libraries as reception rooms

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[194] Ausonius *Ep.*10.25ff.
[195] *Lib.Pont.*48.12.
[196] Sidonius *Ep.*2.9.4-5.

Libraries, it would seem, played an important role in the pattern of formal entertainment in the houses of the Late Roman aristocracy. In several instances the library appears to have served as the main reception room for guests who had come to the villa to dine. When Sidonius visited the villa of Ferreolus it was in the library of the house that the members of the house party convened for polite conversation before being summoned to lunch. Nearby meanwhile, apparently in the same room, other guests were playing at gaming tables.[197] A closely parallel scenario is recorded by Augustine. When staying in Milan in A.D. 386 he was visited by his fellow countryman Ponticianus, whom he received into a room of his house in which, he tells us, there was a gaming table (*mensa lusoria*) on which had been left a *codex*.[198] It would seem that here again we have a room used both as a library and as a reception room equipped for indoor recreation. Similarly, though again in an urban context, the aristocratic gathering described in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* met on the first morning of the festival, we are told, in the library of Vettius Praetextatus' house in Rome.[199] Interestingly when Praetextatus issues the invitation to his guests to join him for this morning discussion he makes the suggestion as an alternative to meeting for games of backgammon and draughts, which he implies to be a more usual pretext for aristocratic gatherings.[200]

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[197] Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.5.
[198] Augustine *Conf*.8.6. This is the prelude to the account of his conversion which took place in the garden of the same house.
[199] Macrobius *Sat*.1.6.1.

On these occasions then we find the library used as a reception room for guests, a setting for polite conversation or indoor recreation. But in the case of the *Saturnalia* the gathering in the library represented something more than just an instance of casual socializing. The distinguished group of aristocrats portrayed by Macrobius had come together at Praetextatus' house primarily to enjoy the refined atmosphere of a literary salon.

This picture of a group of educated men meeting together in the library of a private house to converse in a formal manner about topics of a literary nature illustrates an important custom of aristocratic society at the turn of the 5th century. Indeed there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the literary salon was a familiar feature of life in the houses of rich and educated Romans at this time and in particular of life in the suburban villas where they enjoyed their frequent periods of *otium*. The emperor Julian, for example, referring to his grand-mother's villa near Constantinople, describes the house as a place of frequent discourse.[201] Synesius, writing from his villa near Cyrene, talks of calling together his educated friends to hear a recital of a manuscript newly arrived from Constantinople.[202] Naucellius promises to send his friend

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[200] *ibid*.1.5.11.
[201] Julian *Ep*.25. 427C.
[202] Synesius *Ep*.101 (=PL66 col.1470): *ἐπαγγείλας ἥκειν ἀκροασομένοις ἐλλογίμων γραμμάτων*; cf. Augustine *Ep*.136

Nonius Atticus a papyrus of poems which he urges Atticus to disseminate among his friends.[203] When Ausonius writes to his friends Paulus and Tetradius, urging them to visit him at his villa near Saintes and to bring with them their poems and their writing cases, are we to see this simply as a literary pose on the part of Ausonius? Is he not inviting his friends to join him for just the same sort of semi-formal salon which we find taking place in the library of Ferreolus' villa more than fifty years later?[204]

If the salon was a regular social occasion in the houses of the Late Roman aristocracy can we go further and speculate on what range of literary activities these occasions may have involved? Macrobius offers us a unique view of the organization and ambience of a gathering of this kind. In the salon he describes, discussion focused on Vergilian scholarship but encompassed a wealth of loosely related topics. Works of classical literature, however, provided only one possible basis for discussion. More often, it would seem, the focus of attention was a work of contemporary literature, a poem or letter composed by a member of the group or a close friend. The occasion of the gathering called by Synesius was the receipt of a letter from his friend Pylaemenes. In it Pylaemenes asked Synesius to send him a copy of his recently penned *Cynegetica* and it

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[202](cont'd) (Marcellinus to Augustine): *imo me quidem cogente pluribus legit.*
[203] Naucellius *Epig.Bob.*57: *papyri quod premas vel exeras doctorum in aures.*
[204] Ausonius *Ep.*4, 6, 11.

is easy to imagine that Pylaemenes was hoping to invite a similar group of his own friends in Constantinople to a reading of this new work as soon as it arrived. Aristocratic pride could easily be offended if delivery of new compositions from old friends was not prompt. Symmachus complains mildly to Ausonius that he has not yet received a copy of his *Mosella* which, he has heard, has already been given some circulation.[205] Evidently considerable prestige was attached to being the first to receive and disseminate a new work of literature.[206]

Rarely do our sources specify precisely where within the elegant houses of the *doctissimi* these literary functions took place. The only indications we do have, however, are consistent. Both Sidonius and Macrobius locate the receptions which they describe in the library of the host's residence and it would seem likely therefore that this was the normal setting for functions of this type. In this sense the library of the Late Roman villa served a purpose very similar to that of the earlier *auditorium*, a room sometimes mentioned in 1st and 2nd century sources as the setting for literary recitals in the town houses of the aristocracy.[207] There is also another point of interest. Both Macrobius and Sidonius indicate specifically that these gatherings in the library took place in the morning, an observation which concurs precisely with what Vitruvius had said about the use of private libraries: *usus enim matutinum postulat lumen.*[208]

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[205] Symmachus *Ep.*1.14.
[206] Symmachus *Ep.*1.31; cf. Ausonius *Ep.*4.
[207] See B.Tamm (1963) 8ff.

The literary salon may not have been the only type of social gathering to have taken place in the library. A law of 435 A.D. specifically prohibits the holding of heretical *concilia* in private houses (*in aedibus aut villa aut suburbano*).[209] Interestingly when Evangelus arrives late to join the gathering in Praetextatus' library on the first day of the *Saturnalia* , he apologizes for having interrrupted what he takes to be some sort of secret *concilium* (*me vestris miscebo secretis*).[210] Evangelus would not have been surprised, it would seem, to find his pagan friends conspiring together in the seclusion of a private library.

E. The design of private libraries

If the existence of libraries in villas of the 4th and 5th century is reasonably well attested, the identification of these rooms among the excavated features of villas is far more problematic. Before we can begin to suggest any such identification we must gain a clear understanding of what it is that we are looking for. Are there, for example, any distinguishing characteristics of library design which may make the task any easier? The few clues provided by the literary sources offer some sort of basis for conjecture.

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[208] Vitruvius 6.4.1.
[209] *Cod.Theod.*16.5.66; cf. 16.5.12.
[210] Macrobius *Sat.*1.7.4.

Firstly it is reasonable to suppose that many domestic libraries were fairly large rooms. The reception in the house of Praetextatus clearly involved a sizeable company (*tantum coetum*), who could not have been comfortably accommodated in cramped surroundings.[211] Furthermore the description of the library in Ferreolus' villa given us by Sidonius also suggests that the room was quite a large one. In one part of the room Sidonius found guests playing at ball; in another a group was busy at the gaming-boards. The room was arranged, we are told, with chairs allocated for the use of women located in one area, close to the *codices* thought appropriate for feminine digestion, and those for men in another area where again suitable reading material was at hand.[212] Several other late sources reinforce the idea that private libraries were often spacious rooms. In A.D. 535 Pope Agapetus dedicated a theological library in his paternal house on the Caelian.[213] The dedicatory inscription from this new library suggests that the room in which it was housed was of considerable size; referring to the portraits of the Church Fathers whose works were represented, the text implies a long row of shelves

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[211] Macrobius *Sat*.1.7.4.
[212] Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.4.
[213] De Rossi *Inscr.Christ*.2.16; L.Duschene (1886) 1, 288 n.1; R.Lanciani (1888/1967) 190ff; cf. H.Marrou *Mel.d'Arch.et d'Hist.* 48 (1931) 124-169. For the excavated structure, A.M.Colini 'Storia e topographia del Celio nell'Antichità' *Mem.Pont.Acc. 3.7.(1944)*.

(*sanctorum veneranda cohors sedet ordine* [*longo*]). If, as seems quite likely, the new library was based on a pre-existing private collection, then the latter may well have been housed in the same large room of the house. A further hint of the size of a private library is contained in an anonymous poem, probably of the late 5th century, in the *Anthologia Latina*. The poem, entitled *De bybliotheca in triclinium mutata*, concerns the conversion of a library for use as a dining-room.[214] The library in question was evidently comparable in size to a banqueting hall.

Since villa libraries were frequently used for the reception of visitors they would certainly have been counted among the 'public' rooms of the villa and adorned, like other 'public' areas in a manner which emphasized the social and economic status of the villa's owner. References in Late Roman literature to the decoration of private libraries are rare but the few indications we do possess suggest that libraries were indeed decorated in a style meant to impress. In a letter from the priest Rusticus of Narbonne, written in the early 5th century, we hear of a private library decorated with portraits of the great Classical writers made out of mosaic or coloured wax (*expressas lapillis aut ceris discoloribus formatasque effigies*).[215] More than a century later we are given some details of the decoration of Boethius' library in Rome. The walls of the room were decorated with ivory and glass (*comptos ebore ac vitro parietes*), the latter probably indicating gilded wall mosaics.[216] The near-contemporary library of Pope Agapetus is described in its dedicatory inscription as *codicibus pulchrum [conditum] arte locum*, again suggesting a relatively ornate interior decor.[217]

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[214] *Anthologia Latina* (ed. Buecheler and Riese 1894) 1. No.126. For the date of the poems in the *Anth.Lat.* see M.Rosenblum (1961) 25-35.
[215] Rusticus *Ep. ad Eucherium* (=*CSEL* 31 ed. C.Wotke 1894, 198-9); cf. R.Lanciani (1888) 195. For wax portraits as a form of decoration cf. Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*30.1.6: *imagines ... ceris liquentibus*.

Thirdly we need to consider the evidence for the location and orientation of libraries within the layout of the villa. Here several points may be noted. Faventinus, following Vitruvius, comments that libraries (he is talking of private libraries) should be located on the east side of the building.[218] He gives two reasons: firstly that their use during the morning required lighting from the east; secondly that exposure to the south might admit damp winds damaging to the *codices*. We have already noted the use made of libraries during the morning hours ,so the prescription for east-facing windows appears eminently sensible. The second point is less convincing. A library lit only from the east would have been of fairly limited use. Pliny states specifically that the library in his villa at Laurentum was designed to receive the sun all day long, which would certainly have made the room more serviceable as a study or reception room.[219] Another point concerning the location of the library which can be inferred from the sources is that it was likely to be situated not far from the main dining-room. Both in Sidonius' account of his visit to Ferreolus' villa and in Macrobius' description of the gathering at Praetextatus' house in Rome the house-guests were summoned from the library to the dining room.[220] It is hard to imagine that this involved a long trek across the house; more likely the library and the dining-room were within close reach of one another, forming two components of a well-integrated *villa urbana*.

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[216] Boethius *Cons.Phil*.1.5. For gilt wall mosaics cf. John Chrysostom *In Joannem Hom*.82 (=PG 59 col.445): *ἕτερος ψηφῖδας χρυσᾶς συλλέγγων μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας περιβάλλει τοὺς τοίχους.*

[217] See above note 219.

[218] Faventinus 14; Vitruvius 6.4.1.

Lastly there is the question of what, if any, distinctive architectural features can be associated with the structure of a library. The sources again offer a few clues. At an earlier date Pliny indicates that in the library of his villa at Laurentum the cupboard (*armarium*) in which the *volumina* were kept was set back into an alcove in the wall: *armarium insertum est parieti*.[221] Interestingly he mentions only one such alcove in the library which can perhaps be taken as implying that the number of *volumina* stored there was not very great. This is not surprising when we remember that the villa was a place of intermittent residence. Fronto's departure for his suburban villa with quantities of books implies that the library of his country house was certainly not the main depository for his literary collection. The other thing Pliny tells us about his library at Laurentum is that it was apsidal in plan (*cubiculum in hapsida curvatum*). The apse perhaps contained statuary, the presence of which in libraries is widely attested in literary sources.[222]

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[219] Pliny *Ep*.2.17.8.
[220] Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.5; Macrobius *Sat*.1.24.23.
[221] Pliny *loc.cit.*. By the end of the 4th century the use of bound vellum books (*codices*) was fast replacing that of scrolls (*volumina*), but the continued use of the latter is still often attested: e.g. Paulinus of Nola *Ep*.16.6; Naucellius *Epg*.57. See *Dict.Ant.* s.v. *liber*.

Of course not all these criteria for the design and location of private libraries would necessarily have applied to every villa library but they do provide some basis from which to work in trying to identify rooms of villas which may have served this purpose.

The most distinctive feature of those listed is the last, the provision made for insetting the *armaria* into the walls of the library, which would in some cases have resulted in a series of uniform alcoves along one or more walls of the room. Rooms built to this design should be easily identifiable and indeed there are a number of buildings from urban contexts where rooms conforming to this description have been discovered.[223] There is, however, to my knowledge no parallel for this type of construction known in a suburban or rural building dating from the Late Empire.

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[222] On the evidence for statues in libraries see *Dict.Ant.* s.v. *bybliotheca*; R.Lanciani (1888/1967) 196-7; cf. Naucellius *Epig.Bob.*5: *dulciaque imparium marmora Pieridum* at his villa, perhaps in the library?

[223] E.Gatti *N.Sc.* 1920, 277-9; E.Blake (1973) 91. For an earlier parallel cf. G.F.Carettoni 'Le costruzioni di Augusto e il tempio di Apollo sul Palatino' *Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica* 1 (1978) 72ff.

But perhaps this is not surprising. Pliny says not so much that his room at Laurentum was designed the same way as a library but rather that the presence of the *armarium* in the alcove gave the room the *semblance* of a library (*in bybliothecae speciem*).[224] Besides, as we have already noted, Pliny refers only to a single *armarium* in the room, which supports the view that villa libraries were not used as major depositories of *codices* or *volumina*. There is another point too. Illustrations of *armaria* in late antique art show them usually as free-standing pieces of furniture. Such is the small cupboard containing *codices* of the four gospels which we see depicted on the mosaic of St.Lawrence in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (Fig.16). [225] A room called a *bybliotheca* may, therefore, simply have been a room containing one or more *armaria* placed to the side of the room and a search for distinctive structural niches may prove to be a false trail.

The part played by the *bybliotheca* in accommodating some of the social functions of the aristocratic house is sufficiently demonstrated in the sources to indicate that rooms afforded this title must have existed in many villas. So we are led to reconsider the other indications of library planning which we have enumerated above. From these we have arrived at a composite picture of rooms that were both spacious and ornate, orientated so as to receive ample morning light, and incorporated into the main range of 'public' rooms of the *villa urbana*. Furthermore since the library was often used as the main reception room of the villa, we may be justified in assuming that it had a position of some prominence in the villa's layout. With these points in mind the task of identifying such rooms in the plans of excavated villas becomes a little easier.

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[224] Pliny *Ep*.2.17.8.

[225] G.Bovini *Ravenna Mosaics* (Greenwich 1956) Plates 1-5; cf. P.Courcelle 'Le gril de Saint Laurent au mausolée de Galla Placidia' *C.Arch*. 3 (1948) 29-39. For a comparable illustration from a late antique sarcophagus relief cf. R.Garrucci *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* (Prato 1873-80) Tav.126.1 (my Fig.15).

F. The identification of villa libraries

The plans of several Late Roman villas are characterized by the existence of two principal apsidal or multi-apsidal halls; for example the villas at Piazza Armerina and Patti Marina in Sicily (Figs.1 and 17.) and the villa at Almenara de Adaja in Spain (Fig.22, R1, 2).[226] If, as seems virtually certain, one of the two apsidal halls incorporated into the design of these villas functioned as a dining-room, it seems reasonable to argue that the other served as a reception hall of some kind. One of the functions of such a hall would have been the accommodation of guests for the kind of informal or semi-formal gatherings which, as we have seen, the sources often associate with

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[226] For bibliography see Appendix 2. Room 4 at Almenara de Adaja will be discussed separately, below chap.4.

bybliothecae. In these examples the appearance of the halls corresponds closely to the picture we have arrived at of a 'typical' *bybliotheca*. Take for example the east hall of the villa at Patti. Its dimensions (ca.12 x 8 m.) are sufficient to accommodate a sizeable gathering; its orientation suggests that it was lit primarily from the east; it was ornately decorated (*mosaico policromo*) and apsidal in plan; and it was close to the dining-hall. The relationship between the two halls at Almenara de Adaja is similar, although here the orientation is different. The east hall at Piazza Armerina (Fig.14), although considerably larger (ca.30 x 14m.), has much in common with the east hall at Patti. Its orientation, decoration and capacity all point to its probable use for large social gatherings before the mid-day or evening meal. We may note in particular the way in which direct access was provided from the east hall to the triapsidal dining-hall by means of the doors at the end of the long corridor (R26) and in the north-east corner of the oval court (R41). These halls are clearly a prominent feature of their respective villas. If we are correct in supposing that one of their main functions was as rooms for the reception and entertainment of guests before or after dining and, as we have seen, these occasions frequently involved a sharing of literary interests, it required only that they be furnished with an *armarium* or two for them to acquire the ambience and title of a *bybliotheca*. Finally there is this to consider. If these halls, which conform to a large extent with what we have deduced about the appearance of *byblioth*ecae, are wrongly identified as such, we are left with two puzzling questions: firstly where are these evidently prominent rooms which the sources refer to as *bybliothecae*, and secondly why is there no obvious word in the sources for these halls which archaeology has demonstrated to be a common feature of Late Roman villa architecture? Other words such as *aula* and *basilica* are so rarely used in descriptions of villas that it is hard to imagine they could represent normal terminology for such a recurring feature of villa design.[227] Rather, it would seem, the word *bybliotheca* was often applied to rooms whose design was dictated to a large extent by their main function as rooms for entertaining house guests during the vacant hours of the day, especially during the morning when the *ordo hospitalitatis* demanded that guests be given the opportunity to congregate for indoor recreation and learned discussion.

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[227] For the meaning of the word *aula* see Appendix 1 and Chapter 2 B. For the word *basilica*, apart from the passage of Vitruvius cited above (Chap. 2 n.161), there is merely the statement in Palladius (*Op.Ag.*1.18) that the *cella vinaria* of his villa had *basilicae ipsius forma*.

V. DINING-ROOMS

In the winter of A.D. 386 the young Augustine wrote his first philosophical work, entitled *Contra Academicos*.[228] At one point in the dialogue he confronts his patron Romanianus with a catalogue of the symbols of worldly success. These include the predictable trappings of great wealth: large houses, elegant baths, a vast household, gaming and hunting parties, and crowds of clients. In particular, however, Augustine emphasizes what contemporary taste clearly regarded as the very height of good living, namely the ability to host frequent and elegant dinner parties.[229] Such a view is widely echoed in other 4th and 5th century sources, where the aristocratic taste for gourmet dining and lavish banqueting is frequently treated, sometimes as a topic of mutual interest in letters between aristocratic friends,[230] but more often as a favourite target of contemporary satirical and moralistic writers.[231] For the extravagant dinner parties held in the houses of the rich represented more than anything else the fulfilment of the aristocratic ideal. Sidonius lavishes unrestrained praise on his aristocratic friends for their readiness to entertain guests to sumptuous dinners in surroundings which would delight and impress.[232] Not surprisingly therefore this high social priority was of considerable significance in influencing the design of the villas of the rich and powerful *domini* of the age.

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[228] For the circumstances of the composition see J.J.O'Meara (1954) 110ff.

[229] Augustine *Contra Academicos* 1.1.2: *conviviis quotidianis mensae opimae struerentur*.

[230] Symmachus *Epp.*1.7, 7.18; Ausonius *Ep.*5.

[231] e.g. Amm.Marc. 16.8.9, 26.8.8, 27.3.14; Julian *Misopogon* 362D, 363B-C; Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*24.3; Salvian *De Gub.* 6.13, *Ad Eccl*.4.6.

A. Formal dining and dining-rooms

Descriptions of 4th and 5th century villas often make mention of dining-rooms, especially the 'public' or formal dining-rooms, familiar to those who write about them either as the setting of memorable dinner parties to which they had been invited, or as the scenes of dinner parties which they themselves could boast to have hosted. As the chief focus of hospitality at the villa, the formal dining-room was given great architectural prominence. In literary descriptions of villas the formal dining-room is frequently associated with a monumental forecourt or peristyle which it dominated and which lent it an exaggerated grandeur. Pliny had described how at Laurentum the main *triclinium* was approached through a D-shaped portico.[233] In Late Roman sources descriptions of comparable architectural configurations continue to be found. Leontius' villa at Burgus, for example, is said to have included a dining-room (*cenatio*) built at the head of a crescent-shaped portico (*porticus ampla curvata*);[234] at Adelphius' villa at Vanota the dining-room occupied the apex of a three-sided (? D-shaped) porticoed court (*οἰκός τις τὴν τοῦ τριγώνου προβολὴν διεδέχετο*);[235] A three-sided portico is also mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus as a feature of the renovated villa at Bissonnum (*partibus atque tribus porticus aequa subit*).[236] These porticoed courtyards served not only as a dramatic propylaeum to the dining-room itself but also as a kind of *scaenae frons* before which the rituals of the formal *Cena* were enacted.[237] Roman taste delighted in the luxury of reclining at table with a view from the dining-room out onto the gardens and fish-ponds of these courtyards.[238] A more distant vista was even more prestigious. Pliny had put great emphasis on the impressive views from the main *triclinium* of his villa at Laurentum, in particular the view back through the main doors along the axis of the courtyard to the distant hills.[239] Sidonius too emphasizes the magnificent prospect from Leontius' *cenatio*.[240]

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[232] Sidonius *Car*.23.500ff., *Ep*.2.10.10, 5.11.2, 8.4.1: *hospes epulis te pascit hospitibus*. The taste for gourmet cuisine was often described as 'senatorial' e.g. Paulinus of Nola *Ep*.23.6 (*senatorium fastidium*); Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.6 (*prandebamus breviter copiose senatorium ad morem*), and was frequently symbolized in both art and literature by the serving of fish, for which see Åkerström-Hougen (1974) 104ff.

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[233] Pliny *Ep*.2.17.5; in this case a hallway (*cavaedium*) was interposed between the portico and the dining-room.

[234] Sidonius *Car*.22.204-5.

[235] Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.20.17; Gregory describes the portico as being *τριγώνῳ τῷ σχήματι* which surely implies a D-shaped courtyard rather than one of literally triangular form (as suggested by Moore and Wilson in their 1892 translation (=NPNF 2nd ser. 5, 540)).

[236] Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.1.18.

[237] Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.20.16: *στοὰν ἀνέχουσα τριγώνῳ τῷ σχήματι οἷον τι προπύλαιον τῆς ἔνδον τρυφῆς*; on the quasi-theatrical setting of the dining-halls of early imperial palaces see L.Bek (1983) 87ff.

[238] *ibid*.18-19; Sidonius *Car*.22.208-10: *cadit unda superne ante fores pendente lacu*; Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.1.19: *quo super accumbens celebrat convivia pastor/ inclusoque lacu pisce natante bibit*; cf. Luxurius *Epg*.5 (=Baehrens *Poetae Latini Minores* 445).

These literary passages describe an architectural scheme which can readily be recognized in the plans of many Late Roman villas. In its more conventional form it is seen in the axially placed halls which dominate the peristyles of buildings such as the villa at Desenzano in Italy and the so-called 'palace' at Nea Paphos in Cyprus (Figs.18, 19). In a more elaborate form it is illustrated by the triapsidal hall with its elliptical forecourt at Piazza Armerina (Fig.1.R46), by the curving portico and hall at Teting in Gaul (Fig.20);[241] also, in an urban context, by the hall and D-shaped portico in the so-called 'Palace of Antiochus' (first half of the 5th century A.D.) in Constantinople.[242] A similar architectural scheme is represented on a 3rd century mosaic from Henschir Tongar in North Africa (Fig.21), where the mosaicist, so far from producing a largely imaginary and stylized scene, seems to have been concerned to reproduce something of the real architecture of his patron's villa, specifically that part of the villa which was most closely identified with the owner's status as a rich and generous host.[243]

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[239] Pliny *Ep*.2.17.5: *a tergo cavaedium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, silvas et longinquos respicit montes*).

[240] Sidonius *Car*.22.213-216: *huius conspicuo residens in culmine saepe/ dilectum nostris Musis simul atque capellis/ aspiciam montem.*

[241] A.Grenier (1906) 159ff; with which may be compared the hall and crescent-shaped porticoes of the earlier (1st/2nd century A.D.) villas at Val Catena and Barcola, discussed by A.Gnirs *JOAI* 18 (1915) 145ff.

[242] I.Lavin (1962) 18-20, with references; Lavin uses this particular combination of hall and D-shaped portico to demonstrate that the 'emphasized' *triclinium* had made its appearance in domestic architecture in the East by the mid-5th century. The passage of Gregory of Nyssa cited above suggests, however, that this schema was already in the architectural repertory of the Eastern provinces by at least the mid-4th century. In later centuries the same scheme is

Turning now to the architecture of the dining-halls themselves the main question confronting us is how to explain their individual design in terms of the functions of hospitality associated with the formal *Cena*. The design of the dining-room was determined by a number of distinct but interrelated requirements: firstly the need to accommodate the dining tables and diners, secondly the need to allow adequate space for servants and attendants, and thirdly, and by no means least importantly, the need to provide space for entertainment. A 4th century mosaic from Carthage (Fig.23) illustrates how these needs could be simply met by the use

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[242](cont'd) best known for its inclusion in the architecture of the Great Palace at Constantinople, where a configuration of triapsidal hall and sigma portico formed part of the major rebuilding under the Emperor Theophilus (829-842 A.D.); see Lavin *op.cit.* 11-12 and n.84; cf. J.Ebersolt (1910) 110ff.

[243] P.Quoniam 'Une mosaique à scènes de chasse récemment découverte à Henchir Toungar (Tunisie)' *Karthago* 2 (1951) 109-122; T.Sarnowski (1978) Fig.33; K.Dunbabin (1978) 50-51, Fig.23. Dunbabin argues that the scene 'should not be regarded as an illustration of a real villa', but the close parallel between the curving portico with its central hall depicted on the mosaic and the hall/portico configurations known from excavation suggest that the mosaic scene is far from imaginary.

of conventional rectangular tables and benches arranged around the sides of a large hall, allowing space in the centre of the room for a musical performance.[244] By the 4th century, however, the furniture most commonly associated with formal banqueting was the curved couch (*stibadium*) and D-shaped or round table (*sigma, orbis*) around which it was set.[245] This arrangement lent itself naturally to the form of the apse, which thus became increasingly associated with dining-room design. In its simplest form the formal dining-room evolved as a combination of apse (often slightly more than a semicircle) and rectangular hall as found for example in the villa at La Tasque (Fig.24) or in the Late Roman 'palace' at Nea Paphos in Cyprus (Fig.19).[246] Each component of this bipartite form served a distinct functional purpose, the apse to accommodate the *stibadium* on which the diners reclined, the hall to provide the necessary space for attendants and entertainers. The size of the apse was determined by the preferred size of the *stibadium*. The conventional number of diners on a single *stibadium* seems to have been seven, meaning that the whole arrangement of table and couch did not require a particularly large space.[247] The small *triclinium* of the Villa of the Falconer at Argos, where the use and placement of a 7-person *stibadium* is clearly indicated by the design of the mosaic pavement (Fig.25), measured a mere 6 x 6m.[248] The apse at La Tasque measured 7.0m. at its widest point, that in the dining-hall at Nea Paphos 8.8m. To judge from Sidonius' account of Marjorian's banquet there was generally room for the attendants to pass behind the *stibadium* while ministering to the diners (*stibadii circulum celerantia ministeria percurrunt*).[249]

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[244] K.Dunbabin (1978) 124, Fig.116.

[245] See J.Marquardt (1886) 306-9; Åkerström-Hougen (1974) 101-110. The most relevant Late Roman sources are Sidonius *Ep*.9.13.5, 1.11.10 (a banquet given by Marjorian at Arles in 469 A.D.); Gregory of Tours *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* (=PL 71 col.776-7, a private *convivium*). Åkerström-Hougen defines the word *stibadium* as 'the long cylindrical cushion ... on which the participants lean their left shoulders' but at least by Pliny's time the word had come by association to be applied to the semicircular couch on which the cushion rested: Pliny *Ep*.5.6.36: *stibadium candido marmore vite protegitur*. In Sidonius the *stibadium* is also the couch, the cushion being referred to as a *torus*: Sidonius *Ep*.1.11.14: *quantum stibadii circulum celerantia ministeria percurrunt, cubitum toro reddidi*.

[246] For bibliography see Appendix 2.

To overcome the seating limitations of a single *stibadium* dining-rooms were commonly built with more than a single apse. Taken to an extreme this led to the creation of some huge multi-apsed dining-halls such as the well-known 'Salle à sept absides' in Djemila (Fig.28) or, at a later date, the *Decanneacubita*, the great 19-apsed hall in the Palace at Constantinople.[250] In a more moderate and widely-adopted form it resulted in the use of the triconch (Greek *τρίκονχον*, Latin *trichorum*), a hall composed of a central square flanked by three peripheral apses.[251] Although the dimensions of such halls vary slightly from one villa to another, in most examples the diameter of the apses approximates more or less to the 6m. width of the Argos dining-room, indicating their potential for the placement of a similar conventional 7-person *stibadium*.[252] This is almost certainly the kind of dining-hall alluded to by Procopius when describing a dinner party given by Gontharis in Carthage in 534 A.D.[253] The guests here were seated at three *stibadia*, apparently with the conventional seven diners per couch (he mentions Gontharis and three companions and *τῶν τε Γονθάριδι γνωρίμων τινές*).[254]

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[247] On the number *ibid.*104; cf. J.Marquardt (1886) 307 with references to larger numbers. But surely Ausonius *Car.*2.5 (*sex enim convivium cum rege iustum*) implies seven diners rather than six?

[248] *ibid.*13.

[249] Sidonius *Ep.*1.11.14.

[250] For a discussion of these and comparable large dining-halls see J.Lassus (1971) 193ff; R.Guillard 'Etudes sur le Grand Palais de Constantinople' *JGOBG* 11-12 (1962-3) 85ff.

The central square was used in part by those serving at the meal. It was here that the servants stood in readiness to attend to each diner's summons. Sulpicius Severus talks of the servants in the dining-room of Maximus' palace in Trier standing patient and motionless in attendance at an imperial banquet.[255] The sources often imply a sizeable army of retainers serving at the banquets of the rich; we hear in general of *ministri*, *famuli* and *geruli*, more specifically of *οἰνοχόοι* and *magistri vini*.[256] The role of cup-bearer in particular seems to have carried with it a considerable degree of social prestige, one which is often emphasized in literature and art.[257] It was evidently associated with an important part of the ritual of the formal *Cena*, involving the passing round of a ceremonial goblet.[258]

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[251] For studies on the architecture (rather than the function) of three-apsed halls see in particular: A.Blanchet *Bulletin Monumental* 73 (1909) 450-462; I.Lavin (1962), citing several examples in villas in Italy and the Western provinces; G.Lugli (1963) 58-65. On the Greek and Latin terminology for this architectural form see R.Goldschmidt (1940) 127-8.

[252] Some measurements of villa triconchs (approximated from published plans) are: Ravenna (so-called 'Palace of Theoderic') 6.8m. (central apse) 5.6m. (side apses); Piazza Armerina 8.0m.; Patti Marina 5.5m.; Desenzano 5.2m.; Yakto (Antioch) 5.7m.

[253] Procopius *Wars* 4.26.32ff.

[254] *ibid*.4.28.1.

[255] Sulpicius Severus *Dial*.1.2.6: *eminus secundum famulantium disciplinam solo fixa constitit inmobilis*.

The other important function of the central square of the triconch, the area defined in the sources as being 'before the tables' (*ante triclinium* or *πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης*) was to provide space for entertainers.[259] It is important to remember that the formal dining-room was designed not only as a room in which guests were entertained to a meal but also as a kind of private theatre which could accommodate a variety of musical and theatrical displays.[260] Although the

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[256] Sidonius *Ep*.1.11.10, 9.13.5; Macrobius *Sat* 2.8.1; Sulpicius Severus *V.Martini* 20; Paulinus of Milan *V.Ambrosii* 30.

[257] For depictions of cup-bearers in art see Åkerström-Hougen (1974) Figs.60, 64; also the outdoor banqueting scene on the Cesena dish: P.Arrias *ASAA* 8-10 (1946-8) 309-345. Of course the refined 'senatorial' palate demanded the very best in imported wines: e.g. Greg.Tours *HF* 7.29; Corippus *In Laud.Iust*.3.88ff.; John Chrysostom *Hom.in Matth*.48.6.

[258] Sulpicius Severus *loc.cit.: ad medium fere convivium ut moris est, pateram regi minister obtulit*; cf. Greg.Great *Dial*.3.5: *puer ex more poculum vini praeberet*.

[259] For these expressions Macrobius *Sat*.3.14.4; Olympiodorus Fr.23.

[260] John Chrysostom *Hom.in Matth*.48.6: *θέατρον ποιῶν τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μίμων πληρῶν τὸ συμπόσιον*; cf. Ambrose *Ep*.27.13 (*saltantes*); Macrobius *Sat*.2.1.7, 3.14.4, 7.1.16 (*saltatrices, saltatores*); Amm.Marc.14.6.20 (*feminae cirratae ... pedibus pavimenta tergentis*); for musicians Jerome *Ep*.107.8; Amm.Marc.14.6.18; Claudian *De Cos.Sit*. 2.141-2; for actors Olympiodorus Fr.23 (*μίμοι*) .

4th/5th century evidence for after-dinner entertainment in rich houses comes often in the context of polemic against the *mores* of the metropolitan aristocracies, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the employment of entertainers, particularly on festive occasions, was an ubiquitous feature of banqueting in the houses and villas of the provincial aristocracies of the period. Synesius alludes to flute-players performing at private celebrations in Cyrenaica even during the period of relative insecurity resulting from the incursions of the Ausurians in the early 5th century.[261] In 5th century Gaul Salvian and Sidonius seem all too familiar with the appearance of dancers and musicians at the banquets of the rich.[262] The kind of scene is graphically illustrated in a 5th/6th century miniature in the Vienna Genesis (Fig.26) and in a recently discovered late 4th century mosaic from the *triclinium* of a house at Miriamin in Syria (Fig.27).[263] In the latter case the mosaic *emblema* on which the musicians appear was set into the floor of the dining-room in precisely the position πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης where on festive occasions a real band would have taken its place.[264]

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[261] Synesius *Ep.*132; cf. John Chrysostom *Hom.in Ep.1 ad Cor.*11 for dancing and music at wedding feasts.

[262] Salvian *De Gub.*6.13; Sidonius *Ep.*1.2.9, 9.13.5.

[263] F.Wickhoff *Die Wiener Genesis* (1895) 3-96. For the Miriamin mosaic: A.Zaqzouq and M.Duchesne 'La mosaïque de Miriamin' *Annales archéologiques arabes syrienne* 20 (1970); J.Balty (1977) 94-99.

[264] cf. Åkerström-Hougen (1974) 103 'a silent substitute for actual entertainers', with reference to the Dionysiac scene located before the *stibadium* in the dining-room of the Villa of the Falconer.

The interior decoration of the formal dining-room was deliberately ostentatious, reflecting the room's status as the focal point of hospitality at the villa. In a dining-room of multiple-apse plan particular attention was paid to the decoration of the central apse reserved for the *dominus* and his special guests. In some cases it was built slightly larger than the side apses (e.g. at Ravenna and Djemila, Figs.28, 29) and might also, to judge from some later descriptions of palace *triclinia* be given a more costly and emphatic decoration. In the triconch dining-room of Pope Leo III (795-816 A.D.) for instance we hear that the central apse was decorated with mosaic, while in the two side apses wall-paintings and marble revetment were used.[265] Similarly, according to Agnellus, in the *triclinium* of Theoderic's palace at Ravenna a striking portrait mosaic was set prominently in the half-dome over the central apse.[266]

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[265] *Lib.Pont.*2.3-4 (367): *et camera cum absida de musibo seu alias II absidas diversas storias pingens super marmorum constructione pariter in circuitu decoravit*; cf. I.Lavin (1962) 12.

[266] Agnellus *Lib.Pont.*94 (=*MGH Script. Rerum Longobard. et Italic. Saec.VI-IX*,337):

> *Hic autem similis fuit in isto palatio, quod ipse aedificavit, in tribunale triclinii quod vocatur Ad Mare, supra portam et in fronte regiae quae dicitur Ad Calchi istius civitatis, ubi prima porta palatii fuit, in loco qui vocatur Sicrestum, ubi Ecclesia Salvatoris esse videtur. In pinnaculum ipsius loci fuit Theodorici effigies, mire tessellis ornata, dextera manum lanceam tenens, sinistra clipeum, lorica indutus.*

E.Dyggve (1941) 50 takes this to imply that the mosaic portrait was itself *sopra la porta del triclinio*. But this is not compatible with Agnellus' clear indication that the mosaic was set *in tribunale triclinii*, i.e. in the apse of the *triclinium*. For the meaning *tribunal*=apse see N.Duval *MEFR* (1960) 356-363 and compare Agnellus *Lib.Pont.*72, 86, and especially 27 where Galla Placidia commissions a mosaic

Such decorative emphasis had of course a largely symbolic purpose, intended to cast an aura of wealth and *potestas* around the person of the *dominus* reclining at the central *stibadium* below.

In addition to this architectural decoration the dining-room of a rich villa also provided an opportunity for displaying other more portable works of art in the form of statuary, silverware, rugs, and tapestries.[267] Embroidered cloth, perhaps shown off as a product of the villa's own *textrinum*, was used in particular to make drapes for the *stibadia*.[268] Similar coverings were also draped over the tables around which the *stibadia* were set.[269] The tables themselves were not therefore normally visible to the dinner guests and only in exceptional cases do they appear to have

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[266] (cont'd) to be placed *in pariete tribunali post tergum pontificis supra sedem ubi pontifex sedet*. We are left, however, with the problem of *supra portam*, which can, I think, be taken as referring to the whole of the preceding phrase, i.e. meaning that the *triclinium* itself was *supra portam*, i.e. upstairs, which would make good sense if its most vaunted feature was a magnificent prospect *Ad Mare*.

[267] e.g. Paulinus of Pella *Euch*.207-9; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.11, *Car*.23.500-506; Jerome *Ep*.66.8; and in an Imperial context: Corippus *In Laud.Iust*.3.111-116.

[268] Amm.Marc.16.8.8: *latissimi clavi linteorum toralium*; Prudentius *Hamartigenia* 328-9; Salvian *Ad Eccl*.4.6. Procopius (*Wars* 7.32.36) relates a story of how Justinian's nephew Germanus once concealed one of his agents as a spy inside the cover (ἐντὸς τῆς σινδόνος) of a *stibadium* in the dining-room of his house in Constantinople. The passage is misunderstood by the Loeb translator (H.B.Dewing, 1924) who gives the impression that the *stibadium* itself was hidden behind a curtain which is hardly likely and not what the Greek says.

[269] Amm.Marc. *loc.cit: mensamque operimentis paribus tectam*; cf. Sidonius *Ep*.9.; Corippus *loc.cit: aurea purpureis adponunt fercula mensis*; Isodore *Or*.19.26.6: *mantelia nunc pro operiendis mensis sunt, quae, ut nomen ipsum indicat, olim tergendis manibus praebebantur*. In general J.Marquardt (1886) 312.

had any intrinsic or artistic value.[270]

B. Summer dining and its architectural setting

In the kind of wealthy villas which served as models for literary *ecphrasis* there was often more than one room which served as a 'public' dining-room. Just as Pliny had referred to two *triclinia* at his villa at Tifernum, so Sidonius describes his villa at Avitacum as having, in addition to a private dining-room, two formal dining-rooms, one which he calls a *triclinium hiemale*, the other a summer *cenatiunculum*.[271] The latter was an overt sign of luxury, a dining-room built strictly for use during the summer according to the best Roman architectural tradition.[272]

Summer dining made specific architectural demands, the most important of which was that the diners should feel themselves to be in close harmony with their natural surroundings. Pliny had described his summer *triclinium* at

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[270] *ibid.*310 with references. For an interesting group of carved stone table tops of the Theodosian period see E.Kitzinger 'A marble relief of the Theodosian period' *DOP* 14 (1960) 17-42, who argues that the ornate stone sigma tables which have sometimes been found in Late Roman contexts were most likely intended for liturgical use in churches.

[271] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.11; Pliny *Ep.*5.6.19, 29; cf. Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*24.3 with a reference to the *triclinia* (pl.) of Sulpicius Severus' house in Aquitania.

[272] Vitruvius 6.4.1-2, followed by Faventinus 14 and Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.9; cf. Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*205-6: *et diversa anni per tempora iugitur apta* (referring to his ancestral villa in Aquitania).

Tifernum as virtually 'letting in the vineyard' (*vineas ... quasi admittit*); Sidonius too emphasizes the broad vista afforded the diners in his summer *cenatiunculum* (*cui fere totus lacus quaeque tota lacui patet*).[273] In each case the dining-room opened off a north-facing portico through which the diners could enjoy a shaded view of the surrounding countryside. The architectural form of Sidonius' *cenatiunculum* is hinted at by the mention that it contained a single *stibadium*. Although this does not rule out the possibility of a rectangular dining-room of the kind found in the Villa of the Falconer, it more probably indicates a room of semicircular or three-quarter round plan with a broad pillared entrance, echoing on a greatly reduced scale the architecture of the great half-domed exedra, long recognized as a summer dining-room, built into the north-east face of the Piazza d'Oro of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.[274] An illustration of this kind of seasonal *cenatio* in Late Roman villa architecture is provided by the curvilinear hall flanking the south peristyle of the 4th century villa at Almenara de Adaja in Spain (Fig.22.R4).

It was also customary in and around the villas of the aristocracy for summer dining to take place in the open air. Sometimes these alfresco meals were served somewhere in the grounds of the villa as a kind of formal picnic in which the diners reclined on the ground against a semicircular cushion. Such occasions are frequently illustrated in 4th century art, usually as a feature of hunting parties as in the 'Small Hunt' mosaic from Piazza Armerina (Fig.30) and a comparable pavement from the villa at Tellaro.[275] Elsewhere we hear of tables and couches set up in the shade of trees and vineyards close to the house.[276] There was, however, a feature of villa architecture designed specifically to facilitate this sort of outdoor dining within the confines of the villa itself. This is best illustrated from an earlier period by the great outdoor triconch built by Hadrian to overlook the garden of the Poikile in his villa at Tivoli (Fig.31).[277] This architectural scheme is seen reflected in Late Roman villa design in the open biapsidal court of the 4th century villa at Montmaurin (Fig.32). The way in which structures of this type were used for dining is suggested by the decoration of a comparable feature in the villa at Lescar in Aquitania.[278] Here a similar semicircular gallery facing out onto the villa's main peristyle was paved with a mosaic which bore a geometric pattern arranged into thirteen frames or *aediculae* (Fig.34). The enclosed apsidal space, 0.5m. lower than the gallery, was paved with cruder red and yellow *tesserae*. The thirteen frames would seem to indicate that the open-air apse was intended as a placement for a large *stibadium* with room for the *dominus* and twelve guests. The width of the apse was ca.13.0m., approximately double the width of the conventional triconch apse designed for the more normal 7-person *stibadium*. The use of these large *stibadia* is occasionally mentioned in the sources and sometimes illustrated in Late Roman art, particularly in scenes of the Last Supper.[279] Their use, however, was almost certainly limited to outdoor *cenae* since the technical problems of roofing an apse large enough to house a *stibadium* of this size indoors would have been formidable. In the context of the summer *cenatio* moreover they had the added advantage of allowing all the diners to enjoy the same frontal prospect of countryside or garden.

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[273] Pliny *Ep*.5.6.29; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.11; cf. L.Bek (1983) 91-2, 100-101.
[274] K.Winnefeld (1895) 63ff; H.Kahler (1950) 64ff; S.Aurigemma (1961) 67; M.Blake (1973) 245ff.

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[275] A.Carandini (1983) 175-188, Fig.94; for the Tellaro pavement G.Voza 'I mosaici della "Villa del Tellaro"' in *Archeologia nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard 1973) 175-9, Tav.LIX. A similar scene is shown on the central roundel of the Cesena dish (see above n.29). According to Lampridius (*SHA Elagabulus* 25) this custom was first introduced into Roman aristocratic circles in the 3rd century A.D. See J.Marquardt (1886) 309.

[276] Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.20.9: *καὶ συμποσίων παρασκευαὶ ἐν εὐρυχώροις τε καὶ ὑψορόφοις πλατάνων στίχοις πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν;* cf. Pliny *Ep*.5.6.36, quoted above n.18.

[277] See especially J.Chillam *MAAR* 4 (1924) 103-120; for a complete list of references M.Blake (1973) 244-5.

[278] A.Gorse 'Les fouilles de Lescar' *BCTH* (1886) 428-436.

C. Private dining and dining-rooms

The formal dining-rooms we have so far considered were designed principally for 'public' use when visitors were entertained at the villa.[280] But what of other less publicized 'private' dining-rooms? These, although rarely alluded to in the sources, must surely have formed part of every large villa. Pliny for instance had referred to one of the rooms at his villa at Tifernum as a *cenatio cotidiana*.[281] The room was discreetly located, looking out onto a small garden courtyard. Although the term used by Pliny does not recur in Late Roman sources, rooms serving the same function are sometimes mentioned. Sidonius talks of a *triclinium matronale* at his villa at Avitacum, which is probably to be understood as a family dining-room.[282] Like Pliny's *cenatio* this dining-room at Avitacum was supplementary to the two formal dining-rooms which each villa also incorporated. The designation *matronale* requires some explanation. It presumably resulted from the room's regular use by the many female members of Sidonius' family (he had three daughters and only one son). For convenience the dining-room was located next to the weaving-room (*textrinum*) and the store-room (*cella penaria*), both areas of strictly feminine activity.[283] Probably too there were occasions when the *dominus* would entertain groups of male guests in one of the formal dining-rooms, leaving the female members of the household to eat together in the *triclinium matronale*. For example when Sidonius attended Majorian's dinner party at Arles in A.D. 461 it would appear that the occasion involved a strictly male company.[284] So too the dinner parties described in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* were attended exclusively by men.[285] The private dining-room would also serve as a retreat for children whose presence at the lunch and dinner parties of their parents was not always desirable.[286]

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[279] Julius Capitolinus *Ver*. 5.1 attributes the introduction of the *Cena* δωδεκάθεος to Lucius Verus; see J.Marquardt (1886) 307 n.13. For depictions in art see Åkerström-Hougen (1974) Figs.59, 66.

[280] Jerome *Ep*.107.7: *in publico, id est in parentum convivio*.

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[281] Pliny *Ep*.5.6.20; K.Winnefeld (1891) 204, No.5.
[282] Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.9.
[283] For store-rooms supervised by women see below chap 6. According to this criterion the *hiberna domus* referred to at Leontius' villa also probably served as a private dining-room: Sidonius *Car*.22. 187-191. For Sidonius' family C.E.Stevens (1933) 84ff.

In these private dining-rooms the formality and ostentation of the public *triclinium* were largely abandoned. Ordinary chairs or benches and tables took the place of the draped *stibadium* and *sigma*;[287] pottery replaced ostentatious silver plate. The relative frugality of the private dining-room in the 5th century is best appreciated from a passage in Possidius' *Life of St.Augustine* where he describes the unpretentiousness of Augustine's dining-room.[288] The dishes were made of wood, pottery or marble; only the spoons were silver. The table itself was evidently undraped, for on it was engraved a cautionary epigram visible to all those who dined there.[289] A rather less convincing picture of private frugality is given by Sidonius who describes a dinner with Theoderic the Goth as being served *simile privato.*[290] In this case, however, the draped couches and (?)silver dishes (*placent fercula nitore*) belie a rather more than 'private' degree of luxury. It is more probable that Sidonius was impressed not so much by a lack of expensive tableware as by the apparent absence in a 'royal' context of the traditional Roman *stibadium* which was to his way of thinking a *sine qua non* of formal dining.

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[284] Sidonius *Ep.*1.11.10.

[285] For the total number of dinner guests in Praetextatus' house Macrobius *Sat.*1.7.12-13.

[286] Jerome *Ep.*107.7: *ne vescatur* [*sc. Paula*] *in publico, id est in parentum convivio.*

[287] Åkerström-Hougen (1974) 109 quoting Luitprand of Cremona (10th century) *Antapodosis* 6.8 (=*MGH* 3, 338) where it is said that even in the Imperial household the *stibadium* was only used for formal dining: *in quibus imperator pariter et convivae non sedendo ut caeteris diebus sed recumbendo.*

[288] Possidius *V.Augustini* 22 (=PL32 col.52).

[289] *ibid.: et contra pestilentiam humanae consuetudinis in ea scriptum ita habebat:*

> *quisquis amat dictis absentum ridere vitam*
> *hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.*

The literary references to these private dining-rooms provide a few clues which may help in identifying such rooms in excavated villas. The main emphasis in Pliny's description is on the relative seclusion and privacy of the small courtyard. Apart from this he mentions only the juxtaposition of the small *cenatio* to a bedroom (*dormitorium cubiculum*) and to an elegantly decorated room containing a small fountain. In Sidonius the main indication is that the private dining-room was closely linked to the women's rooms of the villa. Again this suggests a secluded location. The most convincing example of this sort of arrangement is found in the villa at Piazza Armerina. Here there is a small secluded semicircular court in the north-east corner of the villa, flanked by a number of rooms of which the largest (Fig.1 R32) should almost certainly be interpreted as a private dining-room.[291] In particular we may note that the room's orientation and outlook mirror on a reduced scale those of the large triapsidal hall which served as the villa's main formal dining-room.

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[290] Sidonius *Ep.*1.2.6.

[291] A.Carandini (1982) 258-70; but as a private room it is unlikely to have contained a *stibadium* as Carandini supposes. Other interpretations of the room, for example as

D. The survival of Roman dining protocol

It remains to consider the question of the survival of Roman dining protocol among the post-Roman aristocracies of the 6th century. Are there indications of changes in dining fashions and if so how did these affect the architecture of private houses? In fact the sources show quite clearly that the traditional use of the *stibadium* as the main furniture of formal dining did not change for many centuries. In the 6th century the practice of reclining at table is still widely attested in aristocratic circles. We have seen it in the dinner hosted by Gontharis at Carthage in 546 A.D.[292] Gregory of Tours also tells of a *convivium* at which the guests are described as *discumbentes.*[293] So too Venantius Fortunatus envisages the *dominus* of the villa at Vereginae as reclining (*accumbens*) at table.[294] In at least two of these instances it is evident that the dining-rooms being used for these functions belonged to buildings of an earlier

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[291] (cont'd) a children's playroom (H.Kähler (1973)) or a 'living-room' (R.J.Wilson (1983) 27) are almost certainly erroneous.

[292] See above n.254.

[293] See above n.245.

[294] See above n.238.

age. Procopius states specifically that the *stibadia* in the dining-room at Carthage had been there ἐκ παλαιοῦ. Venantius' poem is aimed principally at congratulating the *dominus* of Vereginae for the renovation of a crumbling (?) 4th century villa. What we have here, therefore, are examples of the continuation of an ancient aristocratic tradition by those who wished to preserve something of the rituals and appearances of Roman social custom in buildings designed for this very purpose by an earlier and richer aristocratic society. But although some 5th and 6th century *domini* were fortunate enough to have the use of grandiose villas which had survived from an earlier age, for others the ancient formalities of the dining-room were replaced by simpler fashions which required a less sophisticated architecture. This was especially true in the West where diminished aristocratic fortunes prohibited new investment in the kind of elaborate buildings needed to facilitate traditional dining protocol. Thus we find in the late 5th century phase of the villa at Ruoti that the dining-room (Fig.13.R15), while preserving some characteristics of an earlier aristocratic *cenatio* - its approach through a small entrance court and its expensive pavement decoration - was designed not for the traditional furniture of formal dining but rather for dining, as Sidonius put it, *simile privato.*[395] Perhaps the same was true of the upstairs dining-room mentioned by Gregory the Great in the house of

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[395] Sidonius *Ep.*1.2.6.

Bishop Probus of Rieti in the mid-6th century.[296] Certainly it is hard to imagine that a room situated *in superiis episcopii* had much in common with the porticoes, apses and domes which so characterized the rich villas of a bygone aristocratic age.

In the East meanwhile the relative prosperity of aristocratic society in the 5th and 6th centuries seems to have ensured a more widespread continuity of traditional custom. We find at this period continued evidence for the construction of triapsidal dining-rooms in private residences in both town and country. For example the mid-5th century rebuilding of a villa at Daphne outside Antioch involved the construction of a large triapsidal hall (Fig.33) which most probably served as a formal dining-room, designed here with particular emphasis on the viewing of entertainments.[297] Triapsidal dining-rooms also continued to be built in many important town houses of the period, for instance in the so-called 'Bishop's Palace' at Bosra (dated A.D. 512) and in the 'Governor's Palace' at Aphrodisias in Caria.[298]

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[296] Greg.Great.*Dial*.4.13.

[297] J.Lassus (1938) 95ff: although only two apses were excavated it would seem almost certain that there were originally three flanking the large ornate central pavement. It is unclear whether the hall was roofed; Lassus (104) believed that the central area was an open court, in which case the apses would have served for summer dining. But it would seem unlikely that an open court would have been fitted with such an expensive and elegant mosaic.

[298] For these and other examples see I.Lavin (1962); S.Ellis (1985).

Even after the 6th century A.D. the preservation of ancient Roman dining protocol survived, but by now, it would appear, it was increasingly confined to the halls of imperial and papal palaces. Here alone were found the resources necessary to commission the kind of expensive architecture needed to facilitate the rituals of *stibadium* and *spectaculum*. Thus in seeking to build a prestigious new banqueting hall at the end of the 8th century Pope Leo III turned again to the traditional formula of the triconch.[299] In an equally elevated context we encounter the same architectural motif (here *tricorium*) surviving as a component of the legendary palace in the *Passio Thomae*.[300] Even as late as the 10th century the emperor in Constantinople entertained visitors to the palace at a banquet held in full 'Roman' style, complete with couches, musicians and countless entertainers. But by this date what had once been a familiar aristocratic ritual was witnessed by one of the dinner guests as something of unbelievable novelty: *verum quia narrandi se occasio intulit qualis eius sit mensa, festis praecipue diebus, qualesque ad mensam ludi celebrentur, bonum non opinor silere sed scribere.*[301]

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[299] See above chap.2 n.114.
[300] Odericus Vitalis (=PL 188 col 160).
[301] Luitprand of Cremona *Antapodosis* 6.7 (=*MGH Scriptores* 3.338).

VI. BATH-HOUSES

Hospes, balneolum breve sum. Thus begins a short epigram attributed to the late 4th century senator Naucellius, inviting his aristocratic friends to share with him the pleasures of the bath-house at his villa near Spoletium.[302] The poem has a slightly apologetic tone; the bath-house is not very large, with room for only four people, the *dominus,* one guest and two servants. Writing more than half a century later in Gaul, Sidonius offers a similar poetic invitation to his friends to come and admire the bath-house of his villa at Avitacum.[303] Both poems serve to focus attention on the central role which the villa bath-house played in the social life of a wealthy villa owner in late antiquity. Of course this was nothing new but rather represented the continuation of a long-standing aristocratic tradition which extended back to the earliest days of the Roman villa. Yet the considerable literary and archaeological evidence for the design and use of private bath-houses in late antiquity has never been systematically studied with a view to answering two important questions: firstly what was the relationship between architectural design and social function in private bath buildings of this period and secondly what evidence is there for continuity or change in the design and use of bath-houses in the age of transition from the Late Roman to the early mediaeval world.[304]

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[302] Epigrammata Bobiensia 4 (ed. W.Speyer, Leipzig 1963). For a commentary *idem Zetemata* 21 (1959) 34-37.
[303] Sidonius *Car.*18.

A. Bath-house entrances and façades

The bath-house was traditionally a 'public' part of the villa, intended not only for the private use of the *dominus* and his family but also for the use of his household and guests.[305] Members of the villa's domestic staff (*familia urbana*) frequently entered the baths in the company of their *dominus* or *domina* and may have been allowed to use the facilities at other specified times.[306] Even the estate workers (*familia rustica*) were entitled to use the bath-house but evidently only on special occasions such as feast days.[307] More importantly the bath-house was open to the many houseguests who were likely to converge on the villa of a great landlord.[308] The literature of the 4th and

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[304] In contrast to the evidence from Late Antiquity the archaeological evidence for villa bath-houses at an earlier period has received some recent attention: E.Fabbricotti *Cronache Pompeiane* 2 (1976) 29-111; T.Rook 'The development and operation of Roman hypocausted baths' *J.A.S.* 5 (1978) 269-282.

[305] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.9: '*domestica seu hospitalis turba*'.

[306] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.5: '*ministeriorum sese non impediente famulatu*; Jerome *Ep.*107.11: *scio praecepisse quosdam ne virgo Christi cum eunuchis lavet*.

[307] Columella *D.R.R.*1.6.20; Augustine *Ep.*46.15-16.

[308] Among the more celebrated instances of villa guests making use of such amenities at an earlier date are the visits made by Caesar to the baths of Cicero's villa near

5th centuries A.D. provides frequent illustration of this urbane social custom. Rich villa owners like Naucellius and Sidonius expected their guests to make use of their bathing facilities and shared with their friends an active interest in the building of these luxury additions to their country houses.[309] Augustine, for example, as a houseguest at Verecundus' villa near Milan in the winter of 386 A.D., speaks of frequent visits to the villa's bath-house.[310] In 5th century Gaul Sidonius often makes reference to social bathing at the villas of his many aristocratic friends and relations.[311]

The fact that the bath-house was a part of the villa frequented by guests and dependents led not surprisingly to a considerable degree of ostentation in the design and decoration of its principal features. The bath-house was in itself a symbol of economic status and was likely to be adorned in a style which proclaimed its owners affluence and artistic taste. A good initial impression could be made by confronting the visitor to the bath-house with an imposing entranceway. In the aristocratic villas of an earlier age this had sometimes been achieved by means of an elegant portico or exedra built as a façade to the bath-house, sometimes by the building of a monumental forecourt in front

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[308] (cont'd) Puteoli: Cicero *Ad Att.* 13.52; and by Seneca to the bath-house of Scipio's villa at Liternum: Seneca *Ep.*86.

[309] Compare Symmachus *Ep.*7.18.3, 6.49.

[310] Augustine *De Beata Vita* 1.6, 4.23; *idem Contra Academicos* 1.4.10, 3.1.1; J.J.O'Meara (1954) 191ff.

[311] Sidonius *Ep.*2.9.9; *Car.*22.128ff, 23.495ff.

of the entrance to the bath-house.[312] In the 4th century these and other similar architectural devices continued to be employed to enhance the entrances to villa bath-houses in accordance with the buildings' social importance. In the villa at Montmaurin visitors entered the bath-house through a porticoed apsidal forecourt containing a small garden and an ornamental nymphaeum, all of which served to emphasize the owner's wealth and taste (Figs.8 and 35.E1).[313] At Piazza Armerina one entrance to the bath-house connected directly to the villa's main forecourt with its monumental arch and portico (Figs.1 and 36.E1). In fact it is the entrance to the bath-house and not the entrance to the villa which forms the axial focus of the forecourt.[314] Descriptions of bath-houses in 5th century literature provide further evidence for the continuation of a similar architectural emphasis. Sidonius talks of the triple-arched doorway (*triplex additus*) into the bath-house of his villa at Avitacum, constructed with porphyry columns in striking contrast to the more austere interior of the building. The villa belonging to his friend Leontius near Bordeaux is said to have included a bath-house 'supported by columns' (*fulta columnis*) which, given the rarity of internal colonnades in private bath-houses, probably indicates some sort of pillared entrance or forecourt.[315] In addition to these monumental front entrances many bath-houses were provided with less elegant secondary entrances, in some cases giving more direct access to the private rooms of the villa (Figs.36.E2, ?37.E2), in others communicating with the service area containing the furnaces and intended almost certainly for the use of servants and attendants (Figs.35.E3, 36.E3, 37.E3).

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[312] G.Jacopi *NSc* 1936, 21-50 (Domitian's villa at Lago Sabaudo); A.Gnirs *JOAI* 18 (1915) 101-163 (2nd century villa at Val Catena, Istria); L.Joulin *Les etablissements gallo-romaines de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes* (Paris, 1901)(2nd century villa at Chiragan, Haute-Garonne).
[313] G.Fouet (1983) 79-83.
[314] For the architecture of the bath-house at Piazza Armerina see in particular G.Lugli (1963) 65-73.

B. Changing-rooms

Upon entering the bath-house the bathers would usually find themselves in an ante-room or vestibule which served as an undressing room (*apodyterium*), generally characterized by rows of benches along the walls (Figs.13.R68, 36.R13). It is not uncommon, however, to find a similar arrangement of benches in one of the heated rooms of the bath-house (Figs.13.R75, 39,f), suggesting that in winter, when the cold baths were not in use, the bathers would undress in a warm room closer to the hot baths.

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[315] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.7-8, *Car.*22.135-6; for the meaning of the words *fulta columnis* cf.*Ep.*2.2.10: *porticus ..... fulta coluriis quam columnis* . Both these villas described by Sidonius in the 460's-470's were built at a considerably earlier date. Sidonius inherited the villa at Avitacum as part of his wife's dowry (*Ep.*2.2.3) i.e. no later than A.D. 452: C.E.Stevens (1933) 19 n.4. The house, as the name suggests, was evidently an ancestral property of the Aviti. Leontius' villa is also clearly a survival from an earlier age. Sidonius states (*Car.*22.117-8, 142-4) that it was built by Pontius' ancestor Paulinus at a time *cum Latius patriae dominabitur*, presumably before the Visigothic capture of Bordeaux in A.D. 414. For possible identifications of this Paulinus see PLRE I Paulinus 20; K.F.Stoheker *Der senatorische Adel im spätantike Gallien* (Tubingen 1948) 200, No.287.

C. The cold water baths

The focal room of the bath-house was the room containing the cold baths (*frigidarium* or *cella frigidaria*). In contrast to the adjacent heated rooms which had for efficiency's sake to be restricted in size, the *frigidarium* was usually designed to be spacious and airy. It was here in summer that the bathers, with their servants in attendance, congregated around communal bathing pools to relax and socialize.[316] For this purpose the *frigidarium* needed to be large enough, according to Sidonius, to contain with ease as many chairs as the number of bathers which the cold baths could accommodate.[317] In winter, since the bath-house might be the only part of the villa with a central heating system, the *frigidarium* might also be used as a convenient room for any large social gathering. The heat from the furnaces of the hot rooms was bound to penetrate through to the *frigidarium* to some extent and keep the chill out of the air.[318] Augustine tells us that frequently during the cold and wet days in the winter of 386 A.D. he and his friends used to retire to the bath-house of Verecundus' villa, there to sit and hold their philosophical discussions.[319]

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[316] Pliny *Ep*.3.1.8; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.5. There is no reason to suppose that communal bathing in private bath-houses was necessarily segregated. The frequent denunciation of mixed bathing among patristic writers has been taken as a fair indication that this was in fact common social practice (for a detailed summary of the evidence see R.Ginouves *BCH* 79 (1955) 135-152). A similar conclusion may reasonably be drawn from the scene on the mosaic pavement of the east *apodyterium* at Piazza Armerina, which depicts what has generally been interpreted as the *domina* of the villa entering the bath-house in the company of her two sons: A.Carandini (1982) 331-334, Fig.200; cf. E.Berbier *C.Arch*.12 (1962) 7-33, whose identification of the two male figures as servants lacks conviction.

As the social centre of the bath-house the *frigidarium* was usually invested with a greater degree of architectural pretension than was found elsewhere in the complex. In many Late Roman villas it became the focus for a display of expensive and fashionable baroque taste. The multifoil plan of the *frigidarium* of the bath-house at Piazza Armerina, for example (Figs.1 and 36.R9), offers a dynamic and imaginative contrast to the more conventional and functional design of the adjacent heated rooms.[320] The pillared halls which formed the *frigidaria* of the bath-houses of the villas at Oued-Athmenia and Champvert (Figs.37, 41) were of significantly greater proportions and more elaborate design than the numerous heated rooms and vestibules that surrounded them.[321] The same principle operated in bath-houses built on a more modest scale. In the small bath-house at Ruoti (Fig.13), reconstructed during the third quarter of the 5th century A.D., the relative social importance of the *frigidarium* is again suggested by its more generous dimensions and more costly decoration (Fig.13.R77).[322] Sidonius too is at pains to emphasize the elaborate architecture (*fabrefactum lacunar*) and spaciousness (*frigidaria dilatatur*) of the *frigidarium* of his bath-house at Avitacum.[323]

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[317] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.5: *tot possit recipere sellas quot solet sigma personas.*

[318] cf. Luxurius *Epg.*64 (early 6th century): *hic etiam ignitus tepet ad praetoria fervor.* Bedrooms were frequently located near the bath-house in order to benefit indirectly from the heat; Cicero *Ad Q.F.*3.1.2; Augustine *De Ordine* 1.3.6. Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.39.5 even suggests that residential rooms be constructed immediately over the bath-house, an arrangement more commonly attested in town houses, e.g. Seneca *Ep.*56.1, John Lydus *De Mag.* 2.21.1-2.

[319] Augustine *De Beata Vita* 1.6, 4.23, *Contra Academicos* 1.4.10, 3.1.1, *De Ordine* 1.8.25. From *De Ordine* 2.11.34 it is clear that the room in which they are sitting contains a plunge-bath (*solium*) and I take this to be the bath of the *frigidarium* rather than the hot water bath. The hot rooms would probably have been too restricted and too hot for a gathering of the kind described. As an interesting parallel, albeit in a public building, we may note the use of what is called the *secretarium* of the *Thermae Gargilianae* at Carthage as a meeting-place for the Council of Bishops in 411 A.D.: *Gesta Conlationis* 1. Augustine (*Ad Donat. post conlat.*25.58) tells us that the conference took place *in tam spatioso et lucido et refrigeranti loco*, which sounds very much like the *frigidarium*; S.Lancel *Actes de la Conference de Carthage en 411* 1.50-53. (= SChr 194, Paris 1972).

The literary and archaeological evidence of the 4th and 5th centuries all points to the continued use of large communal bathing pools built as the main feature of private

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[320] Parallels for this plan, including a (?)mid-3rd century bath-house near Palestrina, are listed by Lugli *op.cit.* 71-2, in particular Fig.62.

[321] The date and plan of this villa remain somewhat controversial. For a summary of the arguments see J. and P.Alquier 'Les Thermes romains du Val d'Or' *Rec.Const.*59 (1928-9) 289-318; for the mosaics (now lost) of the bath building: T.Sarnowski (1978) 21-23.

[322] R.J.Buck and A.M.Small *EMC* 3.2 (1984) 203-208.

[323] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.5.

frigidaria. Frequently these pools were supplemented by smaller cold water baths with a more limited capacity (Figs.36.9A, 37.B, 38.5).[324] The reason for this is not clear, but we can speculate that perhaps the smaller baths were simply provided for the convenience of those bathers who were disinclined to plunge into the larger pools. Alternatively it may be that the large pools were only filled to cater for large social gatherings, the small baths sufficing for domestic use. It is even possible that the use of either bath was dictated by the fluctuations of an unpredictable water supply.

In a courtyard outside the *frigidarium* there might also be found in the more opulent villas an outdoor bathing pool. Pliny had boasted of the *piscina in area* at his villa at Tifernum, useful he says for more strenuous swimming in water which was warmer than that of the *frigidarium* baths.[325] In the 4th and 5th centuries such outdoor pools continue to be attested at the villas of a number of great aristocratic families. Sidonius gives a detailed description of the swimming pool at Avitacum: the liquid capacity was around 20,000 *modii*, the water being supplied from an aqueduct which channeled it into the pool in a noisy cascade from six ornamental lion's-head spouts.[326]

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[324] cf.Pliny *Ep*.2.17.11: *duo baptisteria* in the *frigidarium* of his villa at Laurentum.

[325] Pliny *Ep*.5.6.25; cf. Lampridius *V.Sev.Alex*.30.

[326] Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.8-9; for other outdoor swimming pools at private villas in the 5th century: *V.Melaniae* 18; *Lib.Pont* 48.12 (*balneum ... sub aere*).

The design of the swimming-pools and plunge-baths associated with the *frigidarium* provided further opportunity for a display of wealth and style.[327] Although conventional rectangular and D-shaped pools continued in widespread use (Figs.35.123, 38.4), the 4th century taste for curvilinear design often led to the creation of more interesting forms. A bath-house near the 4th century Gallo-Roman villa at Valentine, which was probably contemporary with the villa, had a large oval outdoor *piscina* (Fig.40.E); at Champvert the pool of the *frigidarium* was octagonal (Fig.41); while at Piazza Armerina one of the indoor pools was constructed with a distinctly baroque trefoil plan (Fig.36.9A).[328] In the bath-house at Oued-Athmenia the larger indoor pool (Fig.37.C) was built in the form of a letter C curving gracefully around the outside of the smaller round-ended bath. Was this large pool, one wonders, the kind of pool to which Sidonius refers when he speaks of the *sigma* bath in the *frigidarium* at Avitacum?[329]

D. The warm and hot rooms

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[327] Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.39.4: *soliorum forma pro uniuscuiusque voluntate fundetur.*
[328] J.-P.-M.Morel *Revue de Comminges* 2 (1886) 9-16; G.Fouet (1978) 145-57.
[329] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.5.

Turning now to the heated rooms of the bath-house, we find that the actual range of these rooms varied somewhat from one bath-house to another depending no doubt on what the owner could afford. At Sidonius' villa there were two adjacent hot rooms, one which he calls the *cella aquarum coctilium*, the other the *cella unguentaria.*[330] Since Sidonius implies that the bath-house at Avitacum had only one furnace (*in ora fornacis*), it seems probable that the *cella unguentaria* was heated indirectly by the furnace, i.e. that it corresponded structurally to what is conventionally termed the *tepidarium.*[331] The various functions of such a room are well illustrated by the excavated features of one of the rooms of the 5th century bath-house at Ruoti (Fig.13.R75). The position of this room, with its hypocausted floor warmed indirectly from the furnaces of the hot rooms suggests a probable correspondence to the *cella unguentaria* of Sidonius' bath-house. Its use as an oiling-room, however, was only one of its functions. Like the *apodyterium* the room was equipped with rows of benches which may indicate that it also served as a warm undressing room in winter. In addition it contained a large wash-stand (*labrum*) providing cold water for those coming out of the hot baths, again most importantly in winter when the cold baths of the *frigidarium* were not in use.[332] Compared with the *frigidarium* the warm room was not normally architecturally pretentious, partly perhaps because of the expense and caution necessary in the construction of a technically complex heating system, but also, one suspects, because of the rather transitory role it played in the procedures of social bathing. Next to the stylish *frigidaria* at villas like Piazza Armerina and Oued-Athmenia, the associated warm rooms (Figs.36.R11, 37.K) with their conventional apsidal or biapsidal plans show an altogether more conservative approach.

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[330] Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.4.

[331] As far as I can tell the word *tepidarium* is never used in Late Roman sources with reference to private bath-houses. It is notably absent as a technical term from the architectural vocabulary of Faventinus and Palladius: see H.Plommer (1973) 14. The only use of the word I have been able to find in a late context is in *ILS* 5715 (= *CIL* 6.1703), which refers to the restoration of the *cella tepidaria* of a public bath-house in Rome by Decius Acinatius Albinus, *Praefectus Urbi* in A.D. 414.

In the hottest rooms of the bath-house, the sweating rooms (*sudationes*) and the rooms containing the hot water baths (*cellae calidae*) again a more functional architecture tended to predominate.[333] The design of these rooms was very largely dictated by practical considerations. Firstly, since a high temperature could most easily be maintained in a confined space the hot rooms were generally much smaller than the rooms with the cold baths. Secondly, because it was in the hot baths that the bathers cleaned themselves there were obvious advantages in limiting the volume of water which needed to be heated and frequently changed, and consequently from an early date the use of small individual bath-tubs in the hot rooms seems to have been normal.[334] As a result the rooms containing the hot baths sometimes formed a series of small independent chambers, each with its own bath and furnace (Fig.36.R12). More commonly, and less expensively, a single furnace was used to heat the water of two baths (Figs.35.R126-130, 41.A-E). This is the kind of arrangement hinted at by Symmachus when commenting, in a letter written ca. A.D. 397, on the newly-constructed bath-house and furnace (*torris*) of Priscus Attalus' villa at Tivoli.[335] In the case of Sidonius' villa at Avitacum the simplest possible arrangement is implied, a single furnace (*fornax*) heating a single bath (*hemicyclium*).[336]

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[332] Celsus *De Med.*1.3.4.

[333] For the terminology: Faventinus 16.

[334] As in the majority of villas illustrated by Fabbricotti (1976); cf. Pliny *Ep.*5.6.26: the *cella caldaria* at Tifernum

Conditions in the small heated rooms of the bath-house were not particularly conducive to social exchange. In contrast to the relaxed and gregarious atmosphere of the *frigidarium* , bathing in the hot baths was a more perfunctory and private concern. This is probably one reason why the hot rooms of many private bath-houses were decorated with less ostentation than was customary in the *frigidarium*. The mosaic floor of the *sudatio* at Oued-Athmenia was made of plain white *tesserae*, in contrast to the many polychrome mosaics found elsewhere in the bath-house.[337] At Ruoti simple *opus signinum* floors covered the hypocausts of the hot rooms (Fig.13.R79, 80, 82) in contrast to the mosaic

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[334](cont'd) contained three separate baths (*tres descensiones*); K.Winnefeld (1891) 208.

[335] Symmachus *Ep.*7.18.3: *solum hoc fama attulit, balineum tibi nuper extructum, cui torrris unus ad iusti caloris pabulum satisfacere narratur.*

[336] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.4.

[337] A.Poulle 'Les Bains de Pompeianus' *Rec.Const.* 19 (1878) 444.

pavements of the warm and cold rooms. There was, however, a more practical reason for these distinctions. The fabric of the building in the hot rooms was subject to considerable stress from the heat and steam generated by the furnaces and damage and repairs were probably not uncommon. Macrobius in fact warns of the potential deterioration of marble used in the hot rooms of bath-houses.[338] Yet despite these reservations more ambitious and costly architectural schemes were sometimes employed in the design of the hot rooms. The Late Roman taste for curvilinear design, already noted in relation to other parts of the bath-house, was occasionally applied to the complex structural requirements of the heated chambers of the bath-house. In a villa at Torre di Cardeira in Portugal, three circular baths project from a central area in a striking trefoil arrangement (Fig.39.A) somewhat reminiscent of the plan of the *frigidarium* at Piazza Armerina.[339] The rooms with hot water baths were invariably well lit to take advantage of the sun's heat. Sidonius is unequivocal about this need in the hot room of his bath-house at Avitacum: *intra conclave succensum solidus dies et haec abundantia lucis inclusae.*[340]

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[338] Macrobius *Sat*.7.16.24.
[339] A.Viana *Arquivo de Beja* 18-19 (1961-2) 105-7; cf. J.-G.Gorges (1979) 141, 475, Planche LXX.2. A comparable arrangement can be seen in the 4th century bath-house at Gamzigrad, although here excavation has revealed little trace of the actual heating system: M.Čanak-Medić (1978) 107ff.
[340] Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.4; cf. Seneca *Ep*.86.11.

E. Associated recreational facilities

A social visit to the bath-house was usually preceded by some form of exercise, often a walk, a ride or a game of ball (*pila*).[341] Those of a less energetic disposition might simply prefer to sunbathe.[342] In the richest villas of the 1st/2nd centuries A.D. these recreational activities had been facilitated by the construction near the baths of private palaestrae, hippodromes, promenades (*gestationes*, *xysti*, *ambulationes*), ball-courts (*sphaeristeria*) and sun-porches (*heliocamini*) such as find occasional mention in contemporary literature and which have sometimes been identified among the ruins of great early imperial villas.[343] Even without all these luxury features many villas had been designed so that the bath-house communicated directly with the main peristyle which, with its customary display of decorative art and sculpture, afforded a pleasant environment for light forms of exercise such as walking or running.[344]

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[341] e.g. Pliny *Epp*.3.1.8, 9.36.3; Lampridius *V.Sev.Alex*. 30; Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.9, *Car*.23.495; Celsus *Med*.1.2.6-7.

[342] Pliny *Ep*.3.5.10: *iacebat in sole*.

[343] P.Grimal *Les Jardins Romains* (2nd ed. Paris, 1969) 245-257; A.N.Sherwin-White *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford, 1966) 195-7. The archaeological evidence for private hippodromes is discussed by G.Pisani Sartorio and R.Calza (1976) 118. For bath-house/palaestra complexes in villas of early imperial date see, for example, G.Simonazzi Masarich *Vicus Augustanus Laurentium* (*Mon.Ant*.XLVIII. Rome, 1973); G.Jacopi *op.cit*.

[344] Petronius *Cena* 29 speaks of runners training in the peristyle of Trimalchio's villa; compare Martial's description of Selius at his villa (*Epg*.2.11): *ambulator*

4th century sources indicate that many of these recreational features continued to be a standard component of the most elegant villas of the age. In Symmachus' references to villa construction on the Bay of Naples towards the end of the century bath-houses and porticoes both figure prominently.[345] Similarly bath-house and portico are closely linked in Sidonius' description of Leontius' villa near Bordeaux.[346] Early in the 5th century Olympiodorus, recording his impressions of Rome, speaks admiringly of the magnificent houses with their bath complexes (*λουτρὰ διάφορα*), peristyles (*φορὰ*), nymphaea (*πηγὰς*) and hippodromes.[347] In the East Libanius, describing the affluence of 4th century Antioch, speaks of luxurious suburban villas rivaling those of Italy, with their porticoes, bath-houses and nymphaea set among elaborate formal gardens.[348] Julian too alludes to the private gymnasia which could be found in the houses of the rich.[349] These literary references to what must have ranked among the richest villas of the age are corroborated by the excavated remains of several great 4th century villas which preserve in their layout some of the elements of this traditional

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[344](cont'd) *porticuum terit seram.*

[345] Symmachus *Ep.*2.60, 6.49, 66.

[346] Sidonius *Car.*22.179-80; on the date of this villa see above note 15.

[347] Olympiodorus Fr.43 (Muller *FHG* 4.67). The reference to hippodromes suggests that the houses (*οἴκοι*) which Olympiodorus has in mind are probably suburban villas. It seems unlikely (J.Matthews (1975) 384 n3) that Olympiodorus is simply guilty of hyperbole.

[348] Libanius *Or.*11.234-239; cf.*idem.Ep.*660, 887.

[349] Julian *Ep. ad Themistium* 263A: *παλαιστρα εν τω δωματιω.*

recreational architecture. We may note, for example, the continued close articulation of bath-house and peristyle, demonstrated in such 4th century villas as Piazza Armerina, Montmaurin and Els Munts (Figs.1 and 8). Furthermore the bath-house at Piazza Armerina is notable for the inclusion of a large richly-decorated hall (Fig.36.R11) which almost certainly functioned as a gymnasium used especially, one may suspect, for playing the much-favoured ball-games frequently mentioned in earlier sources in connection with visits to the baths.[350]

F. Bath-houses of the later 5th and 6th centuries

In contrast to the 4th century, which was an age when enormous private fortunes were widely reinvested in the building or enlarging of country properties, commonly in a style which blended a traditional architectural repertory with a contemporary fashion for baroque decoration, the 5th century appears to have been an age of retrenchment in villa building, an age when diminished private wealth led to a more restrained villa architecture. For almost half a century war, bankruptcy and brigandage resulted in the neglect, if not abandonment, of many villas in the increasingly eroded area of Roman influence. Where there is evidence for villa construction we see the emergence of a more functional architecture, no doubt largely imposed by a decrease in disposable wealth. As luxury became less affordable, villa owners needed to give stricter priority to their tastes for non-essential or recreational architecture. Bath-houses remained a high priority but their association with other forms of luxury architecture is no longer a matter of course. The demise in the relationship between the traditional elements of villa architecture is well illustrated by the recently discovered villa at Ruoti in Lucania, rebuilt in the third quarter of the 5th century A.D. Here the bath-house survives as one of the few remaining concessions to luxury in a building characterized by its lack of traditional architecture, in particular by the absence of any sort of *ambulatio* or peristyle. 5th century literature corroborates this picture of a changing emphasis in villa design. In Palladius' *Opus Agriculturae*, written probably in the 460s or 470s A.D., the buildings of the villa show few signs of luxury.[351] Only the bath-house and the stables serve as reminders of the recreational tastes of the villa's owner.[352] Porticoes are mentioned only as wooden structures intended for sheltering livestock.[353]

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[350] Petronius *Cena* 27; Statius *Silvae* 1.5.57-9. The mosaic of the east *apodyterium* at Piazza Armerina (A.Carandini (1983) Fig.200) depicts what is generally thought to be the *domina* of the villa entering the baths accompanied by her sons and two servants, one of whom carries a red leather bag which may correspond to the ball-bag (*follis*) carried by Trimalchio's slave.

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[351] The date proposed by R.Martin (1976) xvi.
[352] Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.21, 39. On stables at villas see further below, chap 7.
[353] *ibid.*1.22, 3.26.

Even the villas of the very rich seem at this date to have been far less pretentious than those of a century earlier. In A.D. 469 Pope Hilarius commissioned the building of a villa in the suburbs of Rome. The *Liber Pontificalis* records what must have been its most luxurious features: a bath-house, an outdoor swimming-pool and two libraries.[354] Not a particularly extravagent catalogue, but clearly the bath-house remains a priority. Consistent with these references to 5th century villas is the picture which Sidonius gives us of aristocratic recreation in Gaul in the second half of the 5th century. While visits to bath-houses remain a constant feature of social life at the villas other forms of recreation are no longer geared to an expensive articulation of elaborate architecture. Ball games take place on the lawn, horse riding in the country.[355] The building and renovation of private bath-houses continue to be attested in the 5th and 6th centuries but only, it would seem, in palace architecture did resources permit the continued association of the bath-house with other traditional features of luxury architecture.[356] The extravagent villa architecture which the Roman aristocracy of the 4th century had implanted on their estates survived only as a prerogative of imperial wealth. When the author of the mediaeval *Passio Thomae* wrote of a palace which contained among its many buildings baths, gymnasia, promenades and a hippodrome, he was relegating to a semi-mythical status what had once been familiar components of the villas of the Roman *potentiores.*[357]

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[354] *Lib.Pont*.48.3.

[355] Sidonius *Epp*.1.2.5, 2.2.15, 2.9.9, 4.9.2.

[356] For the building of new bath-houses on private estates in the 5th and 6th centuries: Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.4; *Anth. Lat*.110, 120, 178; Cassiodorus *Inst*.29.1. For renovations: Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.1.18. The bath-house of the villa at Ruoti was rebuilt and modified ca. A.D. 475: R.J.Buck and A.M.Small (1984) 204. For a discussion of palace-hippodrome complexes in Late Antiquity see A.Cameron *Circus Factions.Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976) 181.

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[357] The palace description is recorded in Ordericus Vitalis (= PL188.col.160); for discussion of its source see I.Lavin *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962) 1-27; C.Huelsen *Röm.Mitt.*17 (1902) 267.

VII. THE DOMESTIC HOUSEHOLD

There is no shortage of evidence in Late Roman sources for the composition of aristocratic households. Or so it would seem at first sight. But the evidence needs careful handling. Firstly we have to remember that with many 4th and 5th century writers, not only those fired with a sense of Christian frugality, there is a tendency to speak in rhetorical and exaggerated terms about the size and extravagence of aristocratic households. Secondly our conclusions about the staffing of villas will have to depend on a certain amount of conjecture based on what we know about domestic households in an urban context. This will, however, provide us with at least some means, however inadequate, of quantifying and defining the nature of villa households in Late Antiquity and seeing in what ways the design of a villa was influenced by its staffing needs.

We are concerned here only with the domestic household of the villa - in Latin the *familia urbana* - not with the farm hands and estate labourers who worked the land around the villa.[358] The latter, both *servi rustici* and *coloni* lived on the estate permanently, farming the land year round in the service of an often absentee landlord. Augustine, for example, makes passing reference to the *rustici* at work at

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[358] Sidonius *Ep*.4.9.: *servi urbani* contrasted with *servi rustici*; on the *familia urbana* see Amm.Marc. 14.6.16-17.

Verecundus' villa during the winter months.[359] Probably only the bailiffs would have had access to the padronal villa, for the maintenance of which they were doubtless responsible. Such probably was the charge of the *villicus hospes* who provided hospitality for Rutilius Namatianus and his party when they visited the *Villa Triturrita* on their journey along the coast of Etruria in 417.[360] When Gregory of Nyssa visited Adelphius' villa during the owner's absence, he was received and shown around by the villa's bailiffs (ἐπίτροποι), aided by some young boys who provided a light meal.[361]

A. The itinerant household

Unlike the labourers who cared for the agricultural needs of the estate the domestic household accompanied the aristocratic family in their journeying from town to country. We have already noted the cumbersome procession of carts, carriages and personnel mentioned by Symmachus in describing his family's journeys from Rome to their coastal villas in Campania.[362] Sidonius too alludes to the complex logistics of moving the household to the country for an extended stay. Lucontius, he says, had set off for his estate without the *usual* paraphernalia of staff and equipment, thus giving the wrongful impression that he was planning only a short stay:

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[359] Augustine *Contra Academicos* 2.4.10.

[360] *De Red.Suo* I.615 ff; the translation of *villicus* as 'inn-keeper' (A.M.Duff, Loeb edition 1935) is, I think, misleading; cf. Martial 3.30: Apollinaris' villa at Formiae provides more pleasure for his *ianitores vilicique* than for its absentee *dominus*.

[361] Greg. Nyssa *Ep.*20; cf. Eunapius *V.Phil.* 467; John Chrysostom *Ep.*14.3, where we find a single bailiff loooking after the interests of absentee landlords at villas near Ephesus and Caesarea.

> *nullae graves sarcinae .... nulla serraca nulla essedra subvehendis oneribus adtrahebantur .... vix singulorum clientum puerorumque comitatu.*[363]

Sometimes, it would seem, the baggage was sent on ahead of the main party. Sidonius describes how, on one visit to his villa, his household had gone on ahead (*familia praecesserat*) - on this occasion to find a suitable place to camp for the night near a villa belonging to one of Sidonius' friends. Presumably Sidonius and his family would stay at the villa.[364] Accompanying the *dominus*, however, there was inevitably a considerable entourage of family and retainers. Unfortunately references in literature are usually rather vague as to the composition of such retinues. Augustine merely says that he set off for the villa at Cassiciacum *cum meis omnibus*;[365] Sidonius refers to visiting his *suburbanum* with his whole household (*domus tota*);[366]

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[362] Symmachus *Ep*.1.11; 2.17.
[363] Sidonius *Ep*.4.18.1-2.
[364] Sidonius *Ep*.4.8.2; cf. Greg.Tours *HF* 6.5 where the Merovingian king Chilperic, about to travel from the royal Villa Novigentum to Paris, sends his baggage in advance.
[365] Augustine *Conf*.9.4.
[366] Sidonius *Ep*.2.12.3.

Symmachus urges his brother to come and visit him at Puteoli with the words *utinam te domus tota comitetur.*[367] Can we then begin to define the nature of such retinues? When we consider more closely the specific staffing requirements of a large country house and compare this with what we know about aristocratic households in an urban setting, it should be possible to reconstruct with some precision the scale and composition of the domestic household which would have accompanied the aristocratic family to its villa.

B. The composition of the household

The highest status within the household belonged to the chief steward who was charged with the administration of the domestic staff. Ammianus, ridiculing the pompous processions of aristocratic households through the streets of Rome, talks of the *praepositi urbanae familiae* who hold *virgae* in their right hands as a pretentious symbol of office.[368] In Macrobius the steward is called the *praesul famulitii*, in Jerome the *dispensator*.[369] His chief responsibility was that of regulating and apportioning the tasks of the household.[370] Other more specific duties that might fall to him included supervision of the *textrinum* and ensuring that regular offerings were made to the household gods.[371]

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[367] Symmachus *Ep.*2.26.3.
[368] Amm.Marc. 14.6.16-17.
[369] Macrobius *Sat.*1.24.22; Jerome *Ep.*117.8.
[370] Jerome *ibid.*: *dispensator .... regat familiam .... pensa distribuat*; Macrobius *ibid.*: *moderator servilis obsequii*.

The *dominus* himself was attended by a number of personal slaves, sometimes referred to as *cubicularii*,[372] whose functions included such things as looking after their master's clothes,[373] attending to the *dominus* in the baths,[374] or accompanying him around the house with a lamp after dark.[375] The same servants might also be sent on errands for their *dominus*, delivering invitations to neighbouring houses or carrying letters and gifts to aristocratic friends and acquaintances.[376] In addition the *dominus* might bring to his villa one or more *librarii* to look after his literary interests. We find Symmachus, for example, riding to his *suburbanum* at Laurentum accompanied in his carriage by a scribe, to whom he dictates a letter as the entourage trundles slowly along the *Via Latina*.[377] Palladius, in the preface to his treatise *De Insitione* , perhaps written from his estates near Rome, includes his *librarius* among the members of his household.[378] The importance attached to literary dilettantism by the leisured aristocracies of the 4th and 5th centuries would make it seem likely that the *librarius* of the aristocratic household enjoyed a relatively privileged status within the domestic *familia*. We have already observed how the villa library played a central role in the social life of the *dominus* and his aristocratic circle. The slave or freedman entrusted with its care would surely have been an esteemed member of the villa staff.

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[371] Jerome *Ep*.117.8; Macrobius *loc.cit*.
[372] For the use of this term with reference to the domestic staffs of private houses: Petronius *Cena* 53; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.13.
[373] Ausonius *Carm*.2.2ff.
[374] Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.5; Theoderet *HE* 4.23.
[375] Greg.Tours *HF* 2.23.
[376] Ausonius *Car*.2.5; John Chrysostom *Ep*.14.4; Symmachus *Ep*. 3.13.1: Naucellius despatches his *pedisequus* with a letter for Symmachus; *idem Ep*.2.62.1: Flavianus sends a letter by means of his *apparator* Gaudentius. More commonly couriers are described simply as *tabellarii* or *baiuli*, i.e. with no indication of their status within the household.
[377] *Ep*.9.69; cf. Cicero *Ad Att*.6.4 written from Cilicia *ex raeda*.
[378] Palladius *De Insitione* 1; in contrast cf. Jerome *Ep*.61.4

The aristocratic *domina* too, when she travelled in public, and this would presumably include excursions to her villa, did so in the company of a large retinue of slaves and attendants.[379] In 4th century Rome the more pompous and extravagant processions of this kind became easy targets for satirical invective, but for our purposes such criticism serves well to define the nature of these retinues. The core of the great lady's household, given pride of place in front of her carriage in Ammianus' truculent catalogue of the *familia urbana*, was the *textrinum*.[380] This was her troupe of ladies-in-waiting, her *cubicularii/ae*, which in many households included female servants and eunuchs alike.[381] Their duties around the house were probably similar to those

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[378] (cont'd) where Vigilantius has to hire his *librarii* and *notarii*.

[379] e.g. Jerome *V.Hilarii* 14; *Ep.*22.16, 32; Augustine *Civ.Dei* 22.8.

[380] Amm.Marc. 14.6.16:

[381] Olympias' household in Constantinople is said to have included 50 *κουβικουλαρίαι*; for eunuchs in 4th and 5th century private houses: *V.Melaniae* 5; Basil *Ep.*115; Jerome *V.Hil.* 14; Amm.Marc. 14.6.17.

of their co-servants in the imperial palaces, about whose functions we are fairly well informed. Claudian lists some of the services expected of eunuchs in domestic service: to attend to their *domina* in the baths, to fan her, to make the beds, to look after her wardrobe and jewelery, and to act as confidantes.[382] Corippus, writing in the 6th century, gives two of the duties of palace eunuchs as guarding the royal bedchamber and serving at banquets.[383] In Paula and Toxotius' house in Rome we catch a glimpse, in the pages of Jerome, of the female slaves busying themselves with the delicate toiletries of their young mistress Blaesilla.[384]

While some of the *cubiculariae* of the *domina* may also have served as attendants to her children, the latter might also be in possession of a small entourage of their own. Jerome speaks of the young Paula in the company of her own *puellae et pedisequae*, and of Anicia Demetrias as a young girl surrounded by *eunuchorum et puellarum catervae*.[385] Small children of course needed nurses or nannies who appear as an ubiquitous feature of many aristocratic households. Probably these were simply *cubiculariae* acting in a specific capacity. This is suggested both by the fact that in many households nurses are referred to in the plural (*nutrices*),[386] and also by the fact that there is often little distinction to be made between the functions of a so-called nurse and those of a personal retainer. The woman who served as nanny to a small child often remained in the service of that same child into and beyond early adulthood.[387] Children also needed tutors, who doubtless accompanied their charges when they moved to the country. Jerome presents a delightful vignette of the young Paula receiving instruction at home from an elderly tutor (*magister probae aetatis*), learning to spell with the aid of boxwood or ivory letters.[388] Around the house the children of the *dominus* would probably spend much of their time at play with the members of the household. Jerome inveighs against any sort of frivolous amusement: *nec familiae perstrepentis lusibus misceatur.*[389] But such childhood recreation might bring positive rewards. Paulinus of Pella describes how as a child in Bordeaux he learnt to speak Greek by mixing and playing among the *famuli Graeci* of his parents' household.[390]

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[382] Claudian *In Eut*.I.105-109, 127-129; on the duties of palace *cubicularii* in general see A.H.M.Jones (1964) 567ff.
[383] Corippus *In Laud.Iust*.3.215ff.
[384] *Ep*.38.4.
[385] *Ep*.107.4; 130.4.
[386] e.g. Augustine *Conf*.1.6.14; Paulinus of Pella *Euch*.28; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.10.

C. Accommodating the personal staff

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[387] Synesius *Ep.*3: a young girl is accompanied to her wedding by her nurse; Greg.Gt. *Dial*.2.1: Benedict as a student in Rome is still accompanied by his *nutrex*.

[388] *Ep.*107.4.

[389] *Ep.*107.11.

[390] *Euch*.77.

It is clear that the household of a rich 4th or 5th century aristocrat might include a considerable number of personal aides and slaves, many of whom would be needed in attendance when the family, or any part of it, withdrew to its country residence. The villa, therefore, had to be designed not only to accommodate a small army of retainers but also to facilitate the performance of their daily activities. How then did these requirements affect the architectural planning of the villa?

The first point that needs to be made is that the often intimate duties and the privileged status of the personal attendants of the *dominus* and his family make it certain that they not only worked but lived in close proximity to the family, that is to say within the *villa urbana*, the elegant core of the padronal villa. We may recall Pliny's comment that one wing of his villa at Laurentum was destined for the use of his slaves and freedmen.[311] Pliny emphasizes that the rooms concerned were not necessarily of inferior decoration to those used by the members of the family. They were sufficiently elegant in fact to serve as additional guest-rooms if the need arose. In Sidonius' description of his villa at Avitacum reference is made to a small antechamber (*consistorium*), located between a dining-room (*cenatiuncula*) and a drawing-room (*deversorium*), where some of the *cubicularii* could be found catching a quick nap.[312]

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[311] *Ep.*2.17.

[312] *Ep.*2.2.13: *ubi somnulentiae cubiculariorum dormitandi potius quam dormiendi locus est.*

In the same villa a possible exedra at the end of a covered corridor (*deambulacrum*), which is clearly in the same general area of the villa as the *textrinum* and the private *cubicula*, is said to be used by the villa's female servants as a dining area.[393] We should probably suppose, therefore, that in a large well-appointed villa quite a number of what might loosely be described as 'residential' rooms were in fact intended for the use and accommodation of the family's more esteemed personal servants. While it is seldom easy to identify such rooms within the labyrinthine plans of major excavated villas, additional clues to the arrangement of such facilities are provided in contemporary literature.

The rooms allocated for the use of the *domina* and her servants were likely to form an integrated unit within the layout of the villa. Vitruvius' description of the Greek house includes a quarter called the *gynaeconitis*, in which the lady's bedchamber, the weaving rooms, private dining-rooms and servants' rooms (*cellae familiaricae*) are all arranged together around a porticoed court.[394] Of these rooms the weaving rooms, in Vitruvius called *oeci magni in quibus matresfamiliarum cum lanificis habent sessiones*, in Petronius more simply the *sessorium*, formed the focus of daily activity for the *domina* and her ladies-in-waiting.[395] For convenience and privacy it was only natural that the weaving rooms should be located in the same quarter of the house as the other private rooms used by the *domina* and her staff. This functional arrangement is given further demonstration in the description Sidonius gives us of his villa at Avitacum, where the *textrinum* is said to be located next to the *triclinium matronale*.[396] Sidonius also provides a further point of interest. The *textrinum*, he says, was also next to the villa's main store-room (*cella penaria*). The reason for this must be that it was the *domina* who was ultimately responsible for the management of the household and who gave instructions to the chief steward regarding the provisioning of the house.[397] She would therefore wish to have ready access to the villa's stores. Augustine, for example, says of his mother: *solebat accedere ad cupam*.[398] Two passages from late Gallo-Roman literature serve to illustrate further this role of the *materfamilias*. Ausonius commends his sister-in-law Namia Pudentilla with these words: *rexit opes proprias otia agente viro .... quod gereret totam femina sola domum*.[399] Salvian speaks more generally of the *potestas dominarum* and the need for the lady of the house to find periodic respite from the demands of managing the household.[400]

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[393] *Ep*.2.2.10.
[394] Vitruvius *De Aed*.6.7.2.
[395] Vitruvius *loc.cit*; Petronius *Cena* 77.

The social organization we have so far considered can be seen reflected in the architecture of a number of excavated 4th century villas. At Piazza Armerina (Fig.1), for example, many of the numerous decorated rooms surrounding the central peristyle of the villa were almost certainly intended for the use of the domestic *familia*. Opinions have varied as to which and how many of these rooms were designed for such purposes but considering the potential size of the household it would seem likely that a large number of rooms were allocated for this purpose. Although there may have been further slave accomodation in the peripheral, as yet unexplored areas of the villa, the higher ranks of the *familia* would have been accommodated around the core of the *villa urbana* where their services were most needed. Slave quarters elsewhere were probably for the use of slaves of lower status.[401] The integrated suite of rooms opening off the southeast end of the great corridor (Fig 1, R31-36) have generally been recognized as private rooms for the use of the owner's family. In that case the small antechambers (R33, 35) might well have served as rooms for the use of *cubicularii* and it is not hard to imagine a bevy of female servants relaxing together in the apsidal terminus of the long corridor, taking a break from their duties with the *domina* - just the sort of scene described by Sidonius at his Avitacum villa.[402] Also strong candidates for servants' rooms are two small rooms in the east corner of the peristyle (R37,38).[403] In the villa's original design these rooms had modest geometric mosaics, in contrast to the lavish pavements of adjacent rooms.

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[396] *Ep*.2I.2.9.
[397] cf. Petronius *Cena* 67, where Trimalchio's wife Fortunata leaves the dinner table to supervise the putting away of the silver and the division of the remains of the meal among the household slaves, in her role as *materfamilias*.
[398] Augustine *Conf*.9.8.
[399] Ausonius *Carm*.3.19.
[400] Salvian *De Gub*.7.4, *Ad Ecl*.2.13.

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[401] H.Kahler (1973) 53 favours a generous allocation of rooms for the use of the household; in contrast S.Settis (1975) 878 interprets only four rooms as 'stanze di servizio'; R.J.Wilson (1983) 23 and 102, n.21 puts too much emphasis on the idea that the servants' quarters were 'elsewhere in a separate complex'. His rejection of Kahler's interpretation is unjustified.

[402] Above n.393.

Another 4th century villa of which we have a relatively comprehensive plan, the Gallo-Roman villa at Montmaurin (Fig.8), presents some similar problems of interpretation. Here the excavator was inclined to relegate all slave quarters to the peripheral outbuildings of the villa, not allowing that some of the many rooms around the central peristyle were probably intented for the higher ranks of the *familia*.[404] Rooms in the west angle of the peristyle (R49-59) would seem particularly suitable for this purpose, since they provided ready access both to the elegant suite of rooms which looked out over the garden and to the villa's bath house, in each of which areas attendance upon the person of the *dominus* or *domina* would frequently have been required.[405] Also for use by the servants may have been several of the small rooms flanking the peristyle on its southeast side (R76-88). This part of the villa was provided with a modest and presumably private access corridor to the outside, probably used to bring supplies into the villa under the supervision of the *dispensator*. Could some of these rooms have served as store-rooms? They were certainly within easy reach of the small elegant northeast court in the vicinity of which the *domina* probably had her private rooms.[406]

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[403] Thus interpreted by H.Kahler (1973) 53 and S.Settis (1975) 878.
[404] G.Fouet (1983) 87.
[405] Fouet offers no interpretation of the function of these rooms.

At these villas the private *cubicula* of the owner's family were incorporated, with some degree of seclusion, into the ground-floor plan of the buildings. This too is the impression given in the description of Sidonius' villa at Avitacum.[407] Sometimes, however, the private *cubicula*, in particular the rooms used by the women of the house, were elevated to the second storey. Julian, for example, tells us that the women's rooms in the imperial residence in Paris were located upstairs.[408] He himself, it would seem, made use of private *cubicula* both upstairs and on the ground floor.[409] The same sort of arrangement is suggested in a story from Paulinus' biography of Ambrose, where it is said that when the bishop was staying in Florence at the house of Decens (*vir clarissimus*) the *domina* and her sick infant came to visit him in his guest-room *de superiore parte domus*.[410] In this case, while the private *cubicula* of the family appear to have been upstairs, the guest-room in which Ambrose was accommodated was at ground-floor level.

A few excavated villas have produced evidence to demonstrate this sort of arrangement in practice. For example the south wing of the *villa maritima* at Punta Barbariga in Istria (Fig.42), a villa of early imperial date but still in use in the 4th century, was said by its excavator to have supported an upper storey which he identified as the women's rooms.[411] By this means the architect responded to a number of social and practical needs: firstly the south-facing orientation provided plentiful morning sunlight; secondly what appears to be a major store-room (R15) was within easy reach of the women's rooms; thirdly the upstairs rooms provide easy access to the villa's bath-house and garden, both areas of some social importance. Most of the rooms at ground level in this south wing of the villa were sufficiently elegant to serve as residential rooms and some of them may have been allocated for the use of the family's personal servants. The south-facing rooms at ground level, however, (R24 and 25) were more crudely constructed, with earth floors and roughly stuccoed walls, and probably served as workshops or store-rooms.[412]

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[406] Unfortunately Fouet does not give the find-spots of the numerous cosmetic small-finds, which might provide valuable clues to the identification of the women's rooms.

[407] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.10.

[408] Julian *Ep.ad Ath.*284C.

[409] *idem Misopogon* 341D, where he refers to the hypocaust system of his bedchamber.

[410] Paulinus of Milan *V.Abrosii* 28.

A comparable arrangement can be seen at Ruoti where the 5th century villa (Fig.13), albeit of a more rustic character, included a south-facing range of rooms comprising workshops and stables at ground level, over which was built a range of residential rooms, at least some of which, to judge from the nature of some of the small finds in the destruction layers of the building, were used by the womenfolk of the villa.[413] Again the siting of these rooms provided easy access for the *dominus* or *domina* to the villa's bath house.

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[411] H.Schwalb (1900) 20; see chap.8 n.36 for references to Late Roman occupation at the site.

[412] Schwalb suggests that they may have been stables, but the apparent lack of any external doors makes this seem most unlikely. Besides, it is hard to see how one could gain access to this side of the villa on horseback.

D. The kitchen staff and other servants

We have so far discussed the function and integration only of the higher ranks of the domestic *familia*, the personal attendants of the *dominus* and his family. There were, however, many features of villa life which necessitated considerable additional manpower. Most important was the large kitchen staff needed to cater for the frequent crowds of guests who were likely to congregate at the villa of a great aristocrat. In Ammianus' burlesque cortege the kitchen staff (*ministerium coquinae*) held the middle ground, evidently ranked below the *textrinum* but above other more menial slaves.[414] The kitchen staff might itself comprise a small hierarchy. Sidonius talks of the master chef (*archimagirus*) at Ferreolus' villa.[415] Elsewhere we encounter bakers (*pistores*) as specialist members of the kitchen staff.[416] Members of the kitchen staff might also have responsibilities outside the kitchen. Jerome, for example, seems to associate the tasks of preparing and serving meals with other more menial chores such as sweeping floors and trimming lamps.[417] ~~In~~ Petronius the slave who serves as doorkeeper (*ostiarius*) in Trimalchio's house appears to be seconded from the kitchen staff.[418] Since one of the doorkeeper's functions was to monitor the arrival of guests, for whom in due course meals or refreshments would likely be required, easy access between the *cella ostiaria* and the kitchen was an added advantage. It is not surprising therefore to observe that in several of the villas which we have already looked at there are convenient and discreet lines of communication between the main entrance and the service quarters. At Punta Barbariga a large brick-paved room (Fig.43 R5) close to the main entrance was thought by the excavator to have served as the villa's kitchen.[419] In the villa at Montmaurin access could easily be gained from the *cellae* flanking the main entrance (Fig.8 R55 and 66) to either the service compound to the west or to the service rooms on the southeast side of the main peristyle. The layout at Piazza Armerina allowed for easy movement between the main entrance, and in particular to the room immediately to the south of the vestibule (Fig.1 R47), and the area, as yet unexcavated, to the south of the formal dining-room where further servants' quarters may have existed.[420]

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[413] For a preliminary report on the excavation of these rooms: A.M.Small and R.J.Buck (1983) 188ff.
[414] Amm.Marc.14.6.16-17.
[415] Sidonius *Ep.*2.9.6; cf. Julian *Ep.ad Ath.*272D: ὁ ἐπίτροπος τῶν μαγεῖρων with reference to Constantius' household.

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[416] Petronius *Cena* 68; Greg.Tours *HF* 7.15.
[417] Jerome *Ep.*66.13.
[418] Petronius *Cena* 28; the *ostiarius* was busy shelling peas at the front door of Trimalchio's house.
[419] H.Schwalb (1900) 17-18.

In addition to the kitchen staff the household might include a number of other servants of more humble status appointed to the more menial tasks around the house; in Ammianus' household parade this nondescript rabble of slaves is bunched together as *totum promisce servitium.*[421] Among their duties might be such things as the the operation of the baths and furnaces.[422] There was also need for a number of slaves to manage the stables. Grooms and coachmen are attested in the service of many 4th century private households and would have been indispensible personnel for a family travelling to its country residence and making frequent excursions to the the villas of their friends.[423]

If the efficient operation and maintenance of a country villa required a large workforce, the need to accommodate the personnel was bound to have a significant effect on the villa's design. The potential size of private households hinted at in the writings of men like Ammianus and Jerome meant that the architects of many 4th century villas had to make the housing of the domestic personnel a major consideration in the design and capital cost of a new villa. The most common solution to this problem involved the construction of a large service compound adjacent to the padronal *villa urbana*. In several villas of Early Imperial date, such as those at San Rocco, Val Catena, and Russi, this arrangement had resulted in an integrated rectilinear plan in which the formal regularity of the padronal villa was echoed in a contiguous quadrangle of service buildings.[424] In some 4th century buildings, although the same principle of arrangement can be seen at work, it is generally found implemented with less architectural formality and symmetry. For example at Montmaurin the service compound, round which were ranged workshops, stables, store-rooms, and slave quarters, was irregularly planned with one side of it formed by the curving back wall of the entrance portico.[425] A recent plan of the 4th century villa at Desenzano suggests that here too the association of *villa urbana* and service quarters resulted in a rather loosely articulated layout.[426] At Piazza Armerina, as we have seen, a service compound may have existed in the unexplored area to the south of the formal dining-room.[427] Perhaps the villa extended in this direction with a warren of service rooms not unlike the rambling outbuildings of the contemporary villa at Patti Marina (Fig.17).[428] Certainly it is hard to imagine that a villa the calibre of Piazza

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[420] R.J.A.Wilson (1983) 69.

[421] Amm.Marc.14.6.17.

[422] Petronius *Cena* 53 refers to a *balneator* at Trimalchio's estate at Cumae. In Julian, *Misopogon* 341D, the task of operating the furnaces is allocated simply *τοῖς ὑπηρέταις*.

[423] Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*144 (*strator procerus*); Libanius *Or.*1.249 (*ἱπποκόμος*); Symmachus *Ep.*7.21 (*raedarius*).

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[424] J.B.Ward-Perkins (1981) 196 (San Rocco); A.Gnirs (1915) 101-102 (Val Catena); G.B.Montanari *Russi: La Villa Romana, La Citta* (Faenza 1975).
[425] G.Fouet (1983) 86-87.
[426] R.J.A.Wilson (1983) 76, Fig.50A.
[427] *ibid.*69f.
[428] For bibliography see Appendix 2.

Armerina, whose owner appears to have been particularly fond of hunting, could have lacked a stable-yard and quarters for the personnel who worked there. That the lateral conjunction of padronal villa and service compound was still a familiar arrangement in the mid-5th century is suggested in a short anecdote in Constantius of Lyons' *V.Sancti Germani* . The saint, while journeying between Milan and Ravenna in 449 A.D., was summoned to a villa near Milan belonging to a certain Leporius (*vir spectabilis*).[421] At the villa he is said to have visited the *dominus* in his house (*domicilium*) and then to have done the rounds of the servants' outbuildings: the phrase used (*tuguria .... circuit*) seems to suggest some sort of service compound next to the *villa urbana*.

E. The changing scale of aristocratic households

The 5th century saw the survival, within the increasingly frayed boundaries of the Late Roman world, of an aristocratic society still firmly anchored to its landed interests and continuing, where circumstances allowed, to combine the traditional aristocratic roles of powerful landlord and cultured dilettante. In the Latin West, however, there are indications of a decline in the scale of private wealth during the first half of the century as many leading aristocratic families were forced to adjust to the economic consequences of lost estates and ransacked properties. Money could not easily be found, it would seem, to renovate or rebuild houses devastated during the turbulent years of the earlier part of the century. We hear in the sources of many buildings in town and country which, having fallen victim to barbarian attacks, were simply abandoned or sold off at giveaway prices.[430] Even when recovery did come the scale of investment in private property seems rarely to have matched the extravagance and luxury of the late 4th century. While Symmachus describes villas lavishly decorated with imported marbles, wall paintings and rich mosaics, references to villas under construction in the later 5th century suggest less expensive taste.[431] Sidonius speaks emphatically of the plain decor of his bath-house at Avitacum;[432] for Palladius the use of marble pavements in villas is suggested with some caution.[433]

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[421] Constantius *V.Germani* 33-34.

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[430] In Rome: *V.Melaniae* 14; Procopius *Wars* 3.2.24 (*Horti Sallustiani*); near Aquileia: Jerome *Ep.*66.14; in Gaul: Constantius *V.Germani* 10; Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*330; For a summary of the archaeological evidence for the destruction of villas in early 5th century Gaul see J.Percival (1976) 169-171.

[431] Symmachus *Ep.*1.12, 6.49, 9.40; cf. G.Fouet (1983) 112ff. on the widespread use of marble decoration in 4th century villas in Aquitania.

[432] Sidonius *Ep.*2.2.5. The villa, as noted above (chapter 5), was an 'ancestral home' and therefore for the most part antedates the time of Sidonius. The emphatic detail, however, with which he describes the bath-house may imply that this was a renovation for which he himself had been responsible; cf. *Ep.*2.9.9, where he mentions the construction of a new bath-house at his cousin's villa.

One consequence of the diminishing scale of aristocratic wealth in the Latin West was a probable reduction in the size of private households. As we have seen the great aristocratic families of the late 4th and early 5th centuries engaged large numbers of slaves to maintain their costly properties. Although some of these were home-bred slaves others were certainly purchased.[434] Prices were high, especially for eunuchs and skilled personnel.[435] It is extremely difficult to trace the supply and demand for domestic slaves in the West during the 5th century but from the little evidence available several points of interest emerge. First the widespread defection of slaves brought about by the Gothic ravages of Italy at the beginning of the century is likely to have raised the price of slaves on the open market.[436] Secondly luxury commodities like oriental eunuchs, fairly commonly attested in private households of the 4th and early 5th centuries, seem to disappear from the records later in the century, whether because of supply problems or overpricing it is impossible to say. Thirdly from a letter of Cassiodorus we learn that, at least by the second quarter of the 6th century, the employment of slaves in private households was in some cases giving way to the hiring of free-born children *ad servitia urbana*.[437] We can thus envisage a situation of declining availability and rising costs which, if aristocratic wealth was also more limited, can only have led to the employment of smaller and less exotic households.

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[433] Palladius *Op.Ag.*I.39.2: *et tunc, si copia est, marmora conlocentur.*

[434] Synesius *Ep.*145 demonstrates that he for one had both bought and bred slaves in his *familia*; cf. *idem Calvitii Encomium* 1189D where he indicates that some of his slaves were Scythians.

[435] On the origin, marketing and price of slaves in the late 4th century see A.H.M.Jones (1964) 851ff.

[436] On the defection of slaves following the siege of Rome: Zosimus 5.42; Jerome *Ep.*130.6: *conluvies perfugarum atque servorum.* Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*334-6 speaks of a *factio servilis* following the Visigothic siege of Bazas in A.D. 414.

How then was this going to affect the architecture of villas? One obvious answer is that the villas of the aristocracy were likely to become smaller but this is not easily demonstrable since in many cases 5th century *domini* must simply have continued to occupy 4th century buildings, if with reduced numbers of servants. There are, however, some indications that by the end of the 5th century a more compact and integrated type of villa architecture was beginning to emerge in the West and one factor that contributed to this development was surely a decreased demand among villa owners for space to accommodate the kind of huge households familiar a century earlier. Unfortunately there are extremely few rural villas in the West which can be said with any reliability to have been constructed in the later 5th or early 6th centuries but the few for which this sort of date has been proposed do have this in common, that they are generally tightly-planned structures of fairly modest dimensions, a far cry from the rambling multi-roomed mansions of the 4th century. A buildings like that at Luka Polače (Fig.7), if indeed it represents the kind of villa belonging to the aristocracy of the later 5th century, does not appear to have been designed to accommodate a very large household.[438] So too the last phase of occupation at the villa at Ruoti constituted a fairly closely-knit group of buildings which seems to lack any sort of purpose-built service quarter or facilities for a large domestic staff. Is it reasonable to suppose that in this case a small number of essential servants were accommodated within the main body of the villa? Illustration of this more compact type of villa architecture is given in an anecdote told by Gregory of Tours concerning the country house of a Frankish *dominus* near the Moselle in the 530's.[439] When his cook went at night to awaken the groom, he is said accidentally to have disturbed the *dominus*, implying that master and servants were asleep in the same part of the house. No longer, it would seem, do we have a situation where numerous servants are relegated to a separate compound; rather a more modest household living in close association with the *dominus*.

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[437] Cassiodorus *Var*.8.33.4. Hodgkin (*ad loc.*) rejects the idea that these children were being sold into slavery, but the possibility remains.

In the East there is little evidence to suggest a comparable reduction in the level of aristocratic wealth in the 5th century. Rather the reverse seems to be the case. If mosaic pavements can fairly be used as an indication of civic and private prosperity, statistics suggest a considerable increase in the level of disposable wealth in and around most of the major cities of the Eastern Mediterranean during the 5th and early 6th centuries.[440] This level of prosperity can again be seen reflected in the scale of aristocratic households during this period. In contrast to the evidence in the West, Eastern sources of the later 5th and 6th centuries continue to refer to large and diverse private households. Some sort of yardstick is provided by a number of allusions to the staffs of episcopal residences, which often seem to be teeming with servants of every description.[441] On the secular side we hear of two ladies of senatorial rank travelling across Asia *μετὰ λεκτικίων καὶ πολλῆς ὑπηρεσίας* and a patrician whose house near Constantinople in the late 6th century is said to be full of male and female servants.[442] Most revealing of all is a passage in Agathias which indicates that Narses, Justinian's *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, while campaigning with the Byzantine army in Italy in the 550's, had with him a huge personal retinue of domestic servants and eunuchs under the direction of his chief steward Zandalas, which together with his bodyguard amounted to around 400 men.[443] Although much of this retinue was doubtless military in character, we can still infer that the private household which Narses brought with him from the East was of considerable size.

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[438] For bibliography see Appendix 2. N.Duval (1971) 105-109 advises caution in accepting the proposed date for the building.

[439] Greg.Tours *HF* 3.15.

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[440] C.Dauphin 'Mosaic pavements as an index of prosperity and fashion' *Levant* 12 (1980) 112-134.

[441] Theoderet *HE* 4.13 (*οἰκέται*); Johannes *V.Severi*(= *Pat.Orientalis* II.3.8) 243 (*ὀψοποιοὶ, μάγειροι*); *V.Theodori Syceotae* 76 (*ὀστιάριος*).

[442] *V.Theodori Syceotae* 140.

[443] Agathias *Hist*. I.19.4-5.

The style of villa owned by aristocratic families in the East during the later 5th and 6th centuries is not easily demonstrated from the archaeological record. Scattered finds of mosaics dated to these centuries suggest a sophisticated villa architecture in some suburban regions but few such finds have been followed by wider excavation to determine the full extent or nature of the buildings concerned. An exception is the work carried out at Yakto in the Antioch suburb of Daphne, where excavation in the 1930s exposed part of an elaborate and sumptuously decorated villa belonging in its major phase to the mid-5th century (Fig.33). What concerns us here is the number of service rooms which appear to be incorporated into the plan of the villa; some (R7, 9, 15) discreetly concealed between the villa's main reception rooms, others (R24-26, 32) forming a connected service quarter in the south part of the villa.[444] The impression given is of a building designed largely for ostentatious entertainment but making due allowance for the large domestic staff needed to support a high level of social activity. In mid-5th century Antioch, it would seem, the aristocratic *mores* so bitterly condemned by Julian a hundred years earlier continued to demand a flamboyant and expansive style of architecture in suburban villas.

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[444] J.Lassus (1934); identification is not certain in every case but strongly suggested by the relatively poor construction and paving materials.

VIII. AGRICULTURAL BUILDINGS

A. The farming of suburban estates

Despite all the emphasis in the sources on building for *otium* and on lavish investment in buildings whose main purpose was to facilitate recreation, relaxation and hospitality, indications of the more practical, agricultural and commercial functions of the Late Antique villa are not hard to find. Even the relatively small *horti* attached to the urban mansions of the rich in the more select residential quarters of the great cities of the Late Antique world show signs of having provided their owners with limited revenues which likely came from the sale of produce. In the *Liber Pontificalis* we hear of a *hortus* within the city of Rome in the early 4th century which provided an annual return of 15 *solidi*.[445] Comparable figures of 10 and 11 *solidi/annum* are given for the revenues of *horti* in Antioch at the same period.[446] In the mid-5th century Paulinus of Pella describes a *hortus* attached to his *domus urbana* in Marseilles as being *'non sine vite quidem vel pomis'*.[447] Available quantitative evidence for revenues from suburban estates, which one would expect to have been larger than the lands around urban residences, indicates a proportionately higher level of economic return. Again from the *Liber Pontificalis* we have numerous figures for the revenues of estates in the Roman Campagna in the early 4th century, many in districts such as Praeneste, Tivoli and Albanum, known to have been favoured locations for aristocratic villas.[448] Considering their situation it is reasonable to suppose that many of these estates were the setting of residential villas used as suburban retreats by their aristocratic owners.

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[445] *Lib.Pont*.34.3: *'hortum intra urbem Romam'*.
[446] *ibid*.34.19.
[447] Paulinus of Pella *Euch*.529.

Although for some rich landowners the revenues derived from the lands around their suburban villas may have represented only a fraction of their total income, most of which came from the revenues of huge overseas *latifundia*, nevertheless the productivity of their suburban estates was by no means neglected.[449] The Symmachi, for example, who as we have seen owned extensive tracts of land in South Italy, Sicily and North Africa, were assiduous in maintaining the profitability of their villa estates near Rome. Avianius Symmachus, unwilling it would seem to see his revenues diminish, refused to lower the price of his wine (almost certainly wine from his estates near Rome) under pressure from the Roman populace.[450] Symmachus himself speaks of his frustrations in dealing with dishonest *vilici* at his villa at Tivoli.[451] His kinsman in the *Saturnalia* discusses with obvious familiarity the processes of wine-making at his villa at Tusculum.[452] Elsewhere Symmachus gives ample demonstration of his interest in the agricultural activities at his own and his friends' suburban villas, which are typically depicted as set among vineyards, orchards and meadows, not necessarily large estates but land which could profitably be farmed.[453]

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[448] cf. above chap 1. Examples in *Lib.Pont.*34 include: Tivoli (30 *solidi/annum*); Praeneste (35, 50, 59 and 300 *solidi/annum*); Albanum (50, 60, 160, 170 and 300 *solidi/annum*); Via Nomentana (50 and 80 *solidi/annum*) . A comparable figure of 30 *solidi/annum* is given for the revenue of a church estate outside Mutina in the late 5th century; Pope Simplicius *Ep.*14 (= A.Thiel *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum Genuinae Tomus 1 ann.461-523* Brunsbergae 1868).

[449] In contrast to the generally modest revenues from suburban estates listed above, revenues from overseas estates were much higher. Endowments to the Constantinian Basilica of St. John in Rome included the revenues from several estates in Numidia ranging from 650 *solidi/annum* to 810 *solidi/annum* (from an olive farm at Walzari). With this may be compared the figure of 700 *solidi/annum* said to have derived from the Sicilian property of the *nobilis* Crescentius in the 430s, according to the rather suspect 6th century *Gesta de Xysti Purgatione* 1 (= J.Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio 5* Florence 1761, 1061-69), for comment on which see T.D.Barnes *Phoenix* 37.3 (1983) 252; also the revenues from three Sicilian estates belonging to Lauricius, *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi* under Honorius, which ranged from 445 to 756 *solidi/annum*;

In the provinces the wealth of the municipal aristocracies was also derived in part, perhaps a large part, from the agricultural yield of the estates around

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[449](cont'd) T.-O.Tjäder *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700. Vol.1* (Lund 1955) 172-178; on which see A.H.M.Jones (1964) 790; A.Chastagnol *La Fin du Monde Antique* (Paris, 1976) 119-122.

[450] Amm.Marc.27.3.4.

[451] Symmachus *Ep*.6.81.

[452] Macrobius *Sat*.7.7.14, 7.12.15.

[453] Symmachus *Epp*.3.23, 8.19; cf. 7.18 (Attalus' concern for the profitability of Symmachus' estates). Examples of *villae suburbanae* in such settings are: Symmachus *Ep*.7.18.3 (ref. to the *pomaria* of Attalus' villa at Tivoli); Julian *Ep*.25 (speaks of the κῆπον and φυταλία at his villa near Constantinople); Palladius *Op.Ag*.1.8.2: *studendum praeterea ut hortis et pomariis cingi possit (sc. domus) aut pratis*; cf. 1.34.1: *horti et pomaria domui proxima esse debent*.

their suburban villas. Ausonius is at pains to specify the amount and diversity of agricultural land attached to his villa near Bordeaux (*haec mihi nec procul urbe sita est*).[454] Sidonius too emphasizes the economic returns of estates belonging to family and friends near Clermont.[455] Paulinus of Pella boasts of his determination to revitalize the neglected agriculture of his wife's estate near Bordeaux.[456] In the early 5th century in Cyrenaica we find Synesius writing to his brother from his villa near Cyrene, eulogizing its orchards and plantations and full of praise for the diligent labours of his farmers.[457] In another letter to Pylaemenes he talks of his wish to send cargoes of wine, oil, silphium, and saffron to Constantinople, probably a further indication of the produce of his own estates.[458]

B. The farming of coastal estates

If the agricultural exploitation of lands around the *villa suburbana* is widely demonstrable in the sources, in the case of *villae maritimae* the picture in the sources cautions against generalizations.[459] It cannot be taken for granted that coastal villas were necessarily linked to productive estates. ~~We know, for example,~~ that the density of villa construction at Baiae was such that large agricultural holdings around the villas seem unlikely.[460] Symmachus' concern with the precise line of the property wall which separated his own *praetorium* at Baiae from that of his neighbour Censorinus suggests that the properties concerned were not very large. A few metres this way or that was a matter of considerable importance.[461] Symmachus' property at Formiae seems also to have lacked productive land. He talks of *steriles Formiae*;[462] he has to write to assure his father that when he arrives at the villa at Formiae there will be enough food there to provide for his entourage;[463] on another occasion he expresses uncertainty as to whether there will be food enough at Formiae for his own party for two days.[464]

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[454] Ausonius *Car*.3.1.
[455] Sidonius *Ep*.2.14.2 (Maurusius' estate *ager cum reditibus amplis*); 3.1.2 (Avitus' estate *dignatus ... reditu*).
[456] Paulinus of Pella *Euch*.187ff.
[457] Synesius *Ep*.114.
[458] *idem Ep.134*.
[459] For a good discussion of the ambiguity of the sources concerning the productivity of *villae maritimae* at an

But if we find here evidence for coastal villas which did not have lands which could be farmed, elsewhere a different picture emerges. For a start there is clear evidence from the earlier Empire for *villae maritimae* with productive agricultural land attached. Martial speaks specifically of the farmers and farm produce of Faustinus' villa at Baiae.[465] Statius refers in florid terms to the

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[459] (cont'd) earlier period see J.D'Arms (1981) 78-86.

[460] Strabo *Geog.*5.4.7: *ᾠκοδομημένων βασιλείων ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις.*

[461] Symmachus *Ep.*6.9; cf. J.D'Arms (1970) 227.

[462] *Ep.*1.8.1.

[463] *Ep.*1.11.2.

[464] *Ep.*2.3.

[465] Martial *Epg.*3.58. For this and similar evidence see

opes ruris of the villa at Sorrento belonging to Pollius Felix.[466] So in the late 4th century Symmachus makes reference to the rich productivity (*uberior fructus*) of his friend Decius Albinus' villa on the *Neapolitanum litus*.[467] Again a *villa maritima* belonging to Melania and Pinianus in the early 5th century is said to have had an estate large enough to employ four hundred *servi agricultores*.[468] Moreover in some areas there is clear archaeological evidence for the agricultural exploitation of land around *villae maritimae*. This is particularly the case in Istria, a region which in the 6th century is noted by Cassiodorus not only for its elegant villas (*praetoria lucentia*) but also for its role as the store-house (*cella penaria*) of Ravenna.[469] Here excavation has revealed the remains of several rich *villae maritimae* with evidence for Late Roman occupation and construction, to which were linked substantial facilities for the processing of wine and oil.[470]

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[465] (cont'd) J.D'Arms (1981) 83.

[466] Statius *Silvae* 2.2.98ff; cf. Petronius *Cena* 53 where Trimalchio's *praedium Cumanum*, possibly a *villa maritima*, is clearly, if exaggeratedly, agriculturally productive.

[467] Symmachus *Epp*.7.36, 37.

[468] *V.Melaniae* I.18.

[469] Cassiodorus *Var*.12.22.

[470] See in particular V.Jurkić-Girardi *J.Oe.Byz*.32.4 (1982) 585-594; A.Gnirs *Jahrbuch für Altertümskunde* 2 (1908) 130-136; R.Matijašić *A.J.A*.86.1 (1982) 53-64.

C. Decentralized farm buildings

The farming of an estate meant the need for farm buildings, not only buildings to process and store agricultural produce but also buildings for livestock and farm personnel. What we are concerned with here is the evidence from Late Antiquity for the ways in which these different facilities might be arranged in relation to the residential areas of the villa. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. it had been common for villas to be built in such a way that the farm facilities (*pars rustica, pars fructuaria*) and the residential rooms (*pars urbana*) formed parts of an integrated building complex. In its most compact form and on a relatively modest scale this kind of scheme is well illustrated by the well-known Villa della Pisanella at Boscoreale.[471] More opulent villas too had often been designed with a considerable degree of centralization, with farming facilities ranged around courtyards immediately adjacent to the main residential block and forming with the latter a single interconnected building complex of the kind seen, for example, in the rich 1st/2nd century villas at Russi (Emilia e Romagna) and Val Catena (Brioni Grande, Istria).[472]

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[471] A.Pasqui 'La villa Pompeiana della Pisanella presso Boscoreale' *Mon.Ant.*7 (1897) 397-554; for this and other similar farmhouses see J.J.Rossiter *Roman Farm Buildings in Italy* (B.A.R. Int.Ser. 52, Oxford 1978) 18ff.
[472] See above n.424 for references.

In the 4th and 5th centuries, while there is some evidence for the continued occupation and use of villas built according to this traditional pattern, for example at Albisola in Liguria, there are at the same time signs of greater informality and decentralization in farm design.[473] To begin with there is the (never too reliable) negative evidence, the fact that in a villa like Piazza Armerina, with its rambling articulation of residential and service rooms, there are no obvious signs of any significant farming facilities (press-rooms, wine-stores, granaries etc.) connected to the main complex of the villa. Assuming that these existed, it follows that they must have been in structures independent of the *villa urbana*. It may be relevant that in the 5th century *Vita Melaniae* the farm workers of Melania's *villa maritima* are said to have been housed in numerous cottages (*villulae*) dispersed around the estate.[474] One wonders if the buildings of the working farm were also widely dispersed.

A further hint of decentralization is provided by a late 4th/early 5th century series of mosaics from Tabarka in North Africa, which appear to depict the various buildings of a prosperous country estate.[475] In one of the three panels we see the main residential block with its bath-house (Fig.4), in another the agricultural outbuildings (Fig.46), and in a third a building which appears to contain a stable (Fig.44). Even though the tripartite composition of these mosaics was dictated by the form of the *triclinium* for which they were designed, there is no reason to suppose that the architectural independence of the buildings shown is a mere artistic fiction.

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[473] For 4th century occupation at Albisola see T.Bertocchi (1976) 122.

[474] *V.Melaniae* 1.18; cf. Greg.Tours *HF* 7.47: *domus omnes ... qui participes huius villae*.

[475] K.Dunbabin (1978) 122; T.Sarnowski (1978) 61ff., Plates 5-7.

More important is the evidence from a number of Late Roman villa sites for the independent siting of agricultural buildings: a large 4th century *horreum* at Parndorf (Austria) located 150m. to the south-west of the *villa urbana* (Fig.49);[476] the recently discovered *horreum* near the Via Gabina on the outskirts of Rome;[477] an oil-processing plant at Barbariga (Istria) located well to the north of the main *villa maritima* (Fig.43);[478] an independent stable block at Oued-Athménia (Algeria) located at some distance to the south of the villa's richly-appointed bath-house (Fig.45).[479]

These indications of architectural decentralization, of the separation of the farm buildings from the residential buildings, must surely reflect the scale of farming operations at the villas. The larger the processing or storage facilities required, the less practical it became to try and incorporate these into a single complex with the

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[476] B.Saria (1966) 252-271; J.Percival (1976) 132, 176; A.Mócsy *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London, 1974) 171, 302.
[477] W.Widrig in K.S.Painter (1980) 119-140.
[478] R.Matijašić (1982) 58-9; B.Marušić *Jadranski Zbornik* 9 (1973-5) 340.
[479] A.Berthier *Bull.Arch.Algérienne* 1 (1962-3) 7-20; T.Sarnowski (1978) 66, Fig.100.

villa urbana. While a room with one or two oil presses could reasonably be accommodated within the layout of a compact farmhouse, it is not surprising that an oil-processing plant with room for 12 presses, as was the case at Barbariga, needed its own independent building.[480]

Again the great size of the stable building at Oued-Athménia (70m. square) raises questions as to the use to which such a large building was put. Why would a villa need stabling facilities this large? Part of the answer is provided when we consider the great assortment of animals and equipment required for purposes of personal transportation and recreation at the villa of an aristocratic *dominus*. This included not only horses, mules and carriages - several different types are mentioned in the sources - but also a wide range of hunting equipment and hounds.[481] In addition there had to be accommodation for grooms, stable-boys and coachmen.[482] The stable block at Oued-Athménia was likely used in part to house this assortment of animals, vehicles and equipment. There was very probably, however, another purpose for a facility this large. As suggested by the (now unfortunately lost) mosaics of the villa's bath-house, the owner of the estate was almost certainly engaged in breeding horses for profit.[483] One is reminded of the claim by Synesius that the wealth of many of the landowners in Cyrenaica in the early 5th century depended to a large extent on their stocks of horses.[484] He himself was an enthusiastic breeder and is found anxiously awaiting the arrival of a new stud from Italy.[485] Some estates no doubt specialized exclusively in horse-breeding. The 4th century *Itinerarium Burdigalense* mentions an estate in Cappadocia which was evidently well-known for its race-horses: *ibi est villa Pampati unde veniunt equi curules.*[486]

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[480] In this context it is interesting to note that in 5th century sources wine-making plants are occasionally referred to in terms which are not found in earlier farming manuals and which seem to suggest self-contained buildings: Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.18 (*basilicae ipsius forma*); Salvian *De Gub.*1.10 (*domus vinariae*).

[481] Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*211-12: *stabula et iumentis plena refectis, tunc et carpentis evectio tuta decoris*. For the different types of carriages used in Late Roman aristocratic circles see especially: Paulinus of Nola *Ep.*29.12; Julian *Or.*3.110D; Ausonius *Ep.*4; Eunapius *V.Phil.*468. A comprehensive list of hunting gear is given by Oppian *Cyn.*147-157; cf.

[482] Libanius *Or.*1.259 (*ἱπποκόμοι*); Symmachus *Ep.*7.21 (*raedarius*); Venantius Fortunatus *Car.*3.22.

Widescale agricultural exploitation is also suggested by the massive granary (56 x 26m.) at Parndorf. The situation here was evidently paralleled at other Late Roman villas. Sidonius talks of the large independent *horrea* at Leontius' villa near Bordeaux;[487] he also refers to the huge

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[483] Drawings of the mosaics showing a number of 'named' horses were displayed at the Expostion Universelle in 1898 by the Société Archéologique de Constantine. These are now reproduced in T.Sarnowski (1978) Fig.16-17. For the complete story of their discovery and disappearance see J. and P.Alquier 'Les Thermes romains du Val d'Or' *Rec.Const.*59 (1928-9) 289-318.

[484] Synesius *Ep.*130 (Migne 129).

[485] *Ep.*133 (Migne 132).

[486] *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (=*CSEL* 39) 577.6. For the reputation of Cappadocian horses in general see Nemesianus *Cyn.*204ff; Claudian *Car.Min.*30.190-193, 47.

[487] Sidonius *Car.*22.169-70: *desuper in longum porrectis horrea tectis, crescunt atque amplis angustant fructibus aedes.*

granaria belonging to Patiens, bishop of Lyons, from which emergency supplies were shipped to relieve a famine-stricken Liguria in the mid-5th century.[488] We hear too of a rich landowner in late 4th century Cyprus who is said to have owned 'numerous storehouses (οἴκους) bursting with grain and barley'.[489] All this would seem to indicate some quite large estates whose agricultural exploitation was centred on groups of farm buildings built independently of the residential villa of the *dominus* and without any direct architectural relationship to it.

D. Coastal villas and fisheries

Of course the produce of an estate was not always strictly agricultural. If the estate lay along a stretch of coast there would probably be good opportunities for exploiting the resources of the sea. In his calendar of farm work (*Mens.Dec.*) Palladius includes a chapter on the *fructus litoris* by wich he means principally shell-fish (mussels and sea-urchins).[490] Still more commonly in 4th and 5th century sources mention is made of oyster beds and the farming of cultivated oysters, which evidently had a strong appeal to the aristocratic palate.[491] Fish-farms (*vivaria*) too had always been a popular feature of coastal villas and continue to find mention in Late Roman sources. Rutilius speaks of a flourishing fishery at a villa near Faleria where he stayed during his journey up the coast of Etruria in A.D. 417.[492] Cassiodorus took a genuine pride in the teeming fish-tanks which were built along the shore below his monastery at Scyllacium in Lucania.[493] Whether such private *vivaria* were operated on a commercial scale or simply to provide for the *mensa erilis* is very much open to question. Given the capacity, however, of some of the fish-tanks built at the sites of many Early Imperial *villae maritimae*, it is hard to believe that production was merely for domestic consumption.[494] In Late Antiquity fish and fish products (especially *garum*) were frequently shipped as a form of gift-exchange between the estates of aristocratic *domini* and it seems reasonable to suppose that such gifts may have been representative of more plentiful cargoes destined for the open market.[495]

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[488] *Ep.*6.12.6.

[489] Polybius *V.Epiphanii* 53 (=PG 41 col.89).

[490] Palladius *Op.Ag.*13.6.

[491] Ausonius *Ep.*5, 15; Sidonius *Ep.*8.12.1. A series of Late

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[491] (cont'd) Antique glass flasks show topographical scenes of Baiae which include representations of elaborately constructed *ostriaria*: K.S.Painter 'Roman flasks with scenes of Baiae and Puteoli' *JGS*.17 (1975) 54-67. One may also note the large number of oyster shells found in the Late Roman middens at the villa at Ruoti.

[492] Rutilius Namatianus *De Red*.1.377-379.

[493] Cassiodorus *Inst*.1.29.

[494] For a comprehensive survey of the archaeological evidence with numerous plans see G.Schmeidt *Il livello antico del mare tirreno* (Firenze, 1972) *passim*. For a discussion of the literary and archaeological evidence relating to the Bay of Naples in the Late Republic and Early Principate: J.D'Arms (1981) 82-3.

[495] Symmachus *Ep*.2.47; Ausonius *Epp*.25, 34; cf. C.R.Whittaker 'Late Roman trade and traders' in P.Garnsey, K.Hopkins, and C.R.Whittaker *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London, 1983) 171.

Another potential product of coastal estates was salt, used principally for preserving, and consequently of considerable value.[496] We hear of salt produced at Ausonius' estate (presumably the same estate where he produced his oysters), also at Albinus' *villa maritima* near Volaterra.[497] Here Rutilius describes with evident admiration the series of salt pans and sluices built to facilitate the process of crystalization.

E. The transportation of farm produce

If rich landowners sometimes accumulated large surpluses from the estates around their villas, they needed not only the means to process and store the produce but also the means to transport it to market. Transportation by land, although cumbersome and slow, was often necessary to move produce off the estate to the nearest town or port. According to Sidonius the roads leading from Patiens' estates became choked with wagons transporting grain to the towns of Southern Gaul.[498] In one of Ausonius' letters we hear of wine being moved by road (using a *biiugum plaustrum*) from his villa near Bordeaux to his property near

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[496] Cassiodorus *Var*.6.7.8 equates the value of salt with that of silk and pearls.
[497] Ausonius *Ep*.26; Rutilius Namatianus *De Red*.1.475-479.
[498] Sidonius *Ep*.6.12.5.

Saintes.[499] Such transportation of commodities meant the need for reliable farm carts, the animals to haul them, and the staff to maintain and drive them. This in turn was likely to mean more ancillary buildings - further outhouses and sheds where carts and draught animals could be housed. Near these, one may suppose, were built quarters for the ironsmiths, wainwrights, coopers, and other skilled personnel required to maintain all the equipage of overland transportation.[500]

More fortunate were the owners of *villae maritimae* or of estates which bordered navigable rivers, who could load their produce onto ships or barges for swift transportation to market. For this purpose villas were often equipped with their own private harbours. In 4th and 5th century sources such facilities are occasionally mentioned but rarely described in any detail. Ausonius' friend Paulinus, for example, is said to have river barges (*nausa*) at his disposal to ship goods from his Villa Ebromagus in Aquitania.[501] Fuastinianus, a rich landowner in Cyprus, owned six ships of his own, which he may well have operated out of a private port somewhere on his extensive estates.[502] Rutilius refers to a port near the Villa Triturrita on the coast of Etruria which seems to have been closely associated with the villa.[503] When Symmachus travelled between Ostia and the Bay of Naples he appears to have made use of both private vessels and private harbours.[504] He describes watching the grain barges on their way up the Tiber which flowed through the middle of his *praedium Ostiense* and in these circumstances it is hard to believe that the villa would have been without its own riverside quay.[505] Of course private river ports may rarely have amounted to much more than simple wooden jetties and wharfs of which excavation has left little trace.[506] Nevertheless it is probable that many, if not most, riverside villas were provided with at least modest mooring facilities where boats and barges could be loaded up with estate produce (Fig.47) for rapid delivery to nearby towns and markets. The same was probably true for many *villae maritimae*, only here harbour quays and moles were likely to be more solidly built in order to withstand the greater pressures of the open sea. At the Barbariga villa in Istria, for example, a small concrete quay was built at the south end of the cryptoporticus to serve as a landing stage for incoming and outgoing shipping (Fig.42). A small building close to the quay may have been used as a tackle-house.[507] At this harbour, one may suppose, boats were loaded with cargoes of the olive oil produced at the villa's immense oil-plant not far away.

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[499] Ausonius *Ep.*7. For laws relating to draught animals in Late Antiquity see R.Buck (1983) 48-9.

[500] Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.6.2 lists *ferrarii*, *lignarii*, and *doliorum cuparumque factores* as desirable estate personnel; cf. Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*210: *et diversae artis cito iussa explere periti artifices*, referring to the staff of his villa near Bordeaux in the late 4th century A.D.

[501] Ausonius *Ep.*26.

[502] Polybius *V.Epiphanii* 54 (=PG 41 col.91).

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[503] Rutilius Namatianus *De Red.*1.527-531.

[504] Symmachus *Epp.*2.4, 6, 47. In the last instance the implication is that he has put ashore right at his villa: *ope deum secunda navigatione et facili itinere ad destinata pervenimus. adpetebat commodum tempestiva hora convivii.*

[505] Symmachus *Epp.*3.55, 82.

[506] G.Fouet (1978) 155 mentions a pulley found in the ruins of the villa at Valentine and suggests that it may have been used on a riverside jetty.

F. Farm buildings at 6th century villas

In the 6th century, whenever we are allowed a glimpse in the meagre sources of country life among the post-Roman aristocracies, it appears that the organization of their rural domains has changed little from that of the great villas of their 4th and 5th century predecessors. Great estates with their villas which survived the ravages of war may have changed hands, some bequeathed to the church others taken over by new and foreign landlords, but the essentially pragmatic arrangement of the Late Roman villa with its central residence and scatter of ancillary buildings seems to have remained an enduring pattern of rural habitation. This at least is the impression given by the few descriptive mentions of villas which occur in 6th century sources. Gregory of Tours gives us an occasional glimpse of life at some of the great villas of Merovingian Gaul and the picture of villa organization which emerges is strongly reminiscent of earlier Roman models. In Gregory's parlance the residential part of the villa, the *villa urbana*, is referred to simply as the *domus*;[508] associated with it are other subsidiary buildings such as granaries and mills.[509] A comparable agglomeration of structures is suggested in Fortunatus' description of the villa built by Nicetius, bishop of Trier, on the banks of the Moselle in the mid-6th century.[510] Here was an elegant residence (*domus*) set among vineyards and orchards overlooking the river. In the grounds of the villa was a mill driven by water channeled from the river.[511] Other subsidiary buildings probably dotted the estate: obvious needs would have been a granary to store grain for the mill and presses and store-rooms for the vineyard. The nature of the latter can be inferred from other contemporary accounts of vineyard buildings. Gregory The Great describes the wine-making facilities of a vineyard belonging to Boniface, bishop of Ferentinum. The building contained a treading floor (*calcatorium*), reservoirs to collect the must (*vascula*) and fermentation jars (*dolia*). There was also a wine-cellar (*apotheca*) where the wine was stored in smaller jars (*vasae*).[512] Nicetius' villa, however, had one distinctive feature which perhaps singled it out among the other villas of the Moselle valley at that time as being most worthy of poetic *ecphrasis*.[513] This was the immense fortification wall, complete with thirty turrets, which encompassed the entire estate. How common a feature of villa planning this sort of defensive circuit wall had become by the mid-6th century is one of the questions we shall consider in the next chapter.

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[507] Thus H.Schwalb (1900) 27.

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[508] Greg.Tours *HF*3.16, 5.14, 5.49-50; cf. O.M.Dalton *The History of the Franks* 1 (Oxford, 1927) 162, who is wrong, I think, in suggesting imprecision on Gregory's part in his use of the terms *villa* and *domus*. In Gregory's writing the former word consistently applies to the estate as a whole, the latter to the residential buildings on it. This is clearly demonstrated at *HF* 5.50: *congrgati igitur apud Brennacum villam episcopi, in unam domum residere iussi sunt*.

[509] *ibid*.5.34 (*horrea*), 9.38 (*mola*). S.Dill *Life in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1926) 61: 'around (the lord's mansion) were grouped various buildings, the mill and granary, the oil- and wine-presses, ~~and~~ rooms for all domestic arts and manufactures' - a rather more comprehensive picture than Gregory's evidence strictly allows and one almost certainly influenced by later Carolingian sources: see especially *M.G.H. Legum Sectio II Vol.1*, 82ff *De Villis*.

[510] Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.3.12.

[511] *ibid*.lines 37-38; for a similar device (this time referred to as a *molendinum*) built in the early 6th century by the abbot Ursus, see Greg.Tours *Vitae Patrum* 18 (=PL 71 col.1085).

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[512] Greg.Gt. *Dial*.1.9; cf. Procopius *Wars* 7.35.4 for a description of a similar building in a vineyard outside Constantinople belonging to Belisarius.

[513] For other contemporary villas in the same region cf. Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.10.9 (*De Navigo Suo*) where the poet talks of the *villarum fumantia culmina* seen from his boat as he journeyed down the Moselle; almost certainly a deliberate echo of Ausonius *Moselle* 20: *culmina villarum pendentibus edita ripis*. Both poems are discussed by C.Hosius *Die Moselgedichte des Decimus Magnus Ausonius und des Venantius Fortunatus* (reprint: Hildesheim 1967).

IX. DEFENCE

The concept of the "fortified villa" in Late Antiquity has been much discussed, usually with attention focusing on a handful of relevant inscriptions, a few scattered literary references, and a collection of ill-dated mosaics, all of which have been taken to indicate an increasing tendency in the Late Antique period for villa owners to take measures to fortify their country houses against the growing threat of hostile attack.[514] But does the evidence really permit such broad-sweeping claims? Has the nature and function of the buildings which are posited as "fortified villas" always been accurately assessed from the available evidence? Are we justified in talking about "fortified villas" if by the term "villa" we suppose that we are dealing with the country houses of rich aristocratic landowners? A reexamination of the evidence warns against any vague generalizations. Rather it suggests that the extent and degree of fortification in rural buildings during the 4th to 6th centuries A.D. varied considerably and that although in some regions fortified buildings were a familiar enough feature of the landscape, it would be unwise always to consider these buildings as "villas" since their function may have been quite different from that of the padronal country residence normally implied by this word.

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[514] M.Arnheim (1972) 146-7; J.Percival (1976) 174ff; R.Paribeni *Röm.Mitt.*55 (1940) 131-148; S.Johnson (1983) 242-4.

A. The vulnerability of the *suburbanum*

Most of the villas we have so far encountered in this study, with their rambling articulation of component buildings and frequent emphasis on ground-floor apartments, were extremely vulnerable to attack. For the most part it seems there was very little that could be done to protect such villas against any sort of serious hostile action. Episodes related in the sources indicate that in the late 4th and early 5th centuries no sensible *dominus* would hazard his life by venturing near his estates in times of unrest. In A.D. 382/3 Symmachus complains of the dangers of brigandage in the Roman Campagna and admits a reluctance to visit his estates near the city.[515] When, in the early 5th century the Visigoths were rampaging through Aquitania, Paulinus abandoned his villa near Bazas and beat a hasty retreat to the city.[516] So a few years earlier Synesius writes from the safety of Cyrene that he has had to abandon his suburban villa to the abuses of the Balagritae since he felt ill-equipped to defend the property against persistent enemy raids.[517] Other accounts of barbarian incursions against the cities of the Late Roman world also reveal the extreme vulnerability of the *suburbana* in the countryside around them. Time and again the sources paint a picture of a frightened populace looking helplessly out from behind their city walls as the countryside and its villas were burned, looted and ransacked.[518] Those unlucky enough to be caught unawares at their villas by the sudden appearance of a barbarian force were likely to pay the penalty: capture and slavery or a heavy demand for ransom.[519]

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[515] Symmachus *Ep.*2.22: *nunc intuta est latrociniis suburbanitas.*
[516] Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*328-332.
[517] Synesius *Epp.*95, 130.

B. Limited measures for defending the villa

If many villa owners depended on the nearest town to provide a refuge in times of serious danger, there were also some who felt it necessary to take at least limited precautions to protect themselves against surprise attack or random acts of brigandage. Not surprisingly much of the evidence for this relates to villas and farmhouses in frontier regions where there was a constant need for watchfulness and protection against marauding tribesmen and barbarian soldiers. During the disastrous battle at

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[518] For the destruction of suburban villas at Rome in the early 5th century: Augustine *Ep.*99; during repeated attacks against Constantinople in the 4th and 5th centuries: Socrates Scholasticus *HE* 5.1, Procopius *Wars* 2.4 *Buildings* 9.4; and much later during the Persian assault on Antioch in 573 A.D.: Theophylactus Simocatta *Hist*.3.10.8.

[519] e.g. Amm.Marc. 28.6.4; St.Patrick *Conf.*1 and *Ep.*10.

Adrianople in A.D. 378 the wounded emperor Valens was carried into a farmhouse (*casa agrestis*) in the Thracian countryside. Ammianus gives a detailed account of the building and how the occupants defended themselves.[520] The downstairs doors were bolted shut (*ianuas oppessulatas*) and the attackers suffered a hail of arrows fired from a balcony above (*a parte pensili domus*). The implication is that the ground floor of the building was relatively impregnable, probably without windows. A similar scene is portrayed by the historian Sozomen concerning the defence of a house near Arles in A.D. 411[521] Again the attackers are faced with a hail of arrows projected from the upper floor. A nearly contemporary story relates how bishop John Chrysostom, in the course of the arduous journey of his last exile, was taken for safe keeping to a farmhouse near Caesarea in Cappadocia, in an attempt to avoid harassment or seizure by henchmen of the local bishop Pharetrius.[522] The house, which belonged to a lady of Caesarea called Seleucia, is described as having what was probably some sort of turret (*τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς κάστελλον ἔχουσαν*) built almost certainly as a lookout and defence against Isaurian raiders. When danger threatened the *domina* gave orders to her estate manager to mobilize all the farmers on the estate to rally to the defence of the house and the bishop. It would be wrong to claim that these literary anecdotes provide anything like enough detail about the buildings with which they are concerned to permit a clear reconstruction of their architecture. Nevertheless they do indicate the existence in this period of rural buildings of at least a semi-fortified character, which with their sturdy gates and upstairs apartments provided some security against hostile attack.

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[520] Amm.Marc.31.13.14-15; cf. Zosimus 4.24.2; Sozomen 6.40; Socrates Scholasticus 4.38; Theoderet *HE* 4.32.
[521] Sozomen *HE* 9.13 (=PG 67 col 1624).
[522] John Chrysostom *Ep*.14.3; cf. Ch.Baur (1929-30) 347.

It is tempting to compare these literary references to turreted and defensible farmhouses with some of the illustrations of country houses found on contemporary mosaics, mainly in North Africa. Of particular interest is the famous "Dominus Julius" mosaic found at Carthage and dated to the late 4th century A.D. (Fig.6).[523] This shows a large country house with a façade consisting of a massive ashlar wall with a central gateway, surmounted by an elegant upstairs gallery flanked at either end by high turrets. The somewhat austere character of this building is echoed in another contemporary mosaic from Carthage (Fig.34B) which depicts part of a country house with a similar range of second storey apartments built over what appears to be a windowless ground floor.[524]

Again what we seem to have here are illustrations of what can at best be described as semi-fortified villas. Some of their architectural features are almost certainly defence-related, for example the solid stone walls of the ground floor and the sturdy-looking gateways. Yet it would probably be unwise to put too much emphasis on the "fortified" nature of these mosaic villas. The buildings they represent were probably rich villas near Carthage built at a time of considerable prosperity, when rich *oppidani* could enjoy the pursuits of country life in relative security. Indeed if defence was a major consideration, the buildings depicted on the mosaics are not particularly well designed. Why, for instance, are there easily accessible doors at the foot of each tower of the "Dominus Julius" villa? Does not the curvilinear plan of the bath-house shown behind the façade suggest an independent structure? Are there then perhaps other reasons for the quasi-military look of the building? The most likely explanation is that the owner of the villa, presumably some Carthaginian grandee, was trying to emulate in the architecture of his *suburbanum* the extravagent style of the imperial palaces as a demonstration of his own social and economic status.[525] In the context of villa architecture, as we have already seen, motifs such as towers, turrets and portals were often employed more for their symbolic value than for any genuine reasons of security.[526] Just as there can be little doubt that the series of turrets crowning the retaining walls of the Republican villas near Cosa were meant as a symbol of

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[523] A.Merlin 'La mosaique du Seigneur Julius à Carthage' *BAC* (1921) 95-114; T.Sarnowski (1978) chap.4 *passim*; K.Dunbabin (1978) 119-121.

[524] Carthage - Khéreddine: K.Dunbabin (1978) Pls.35-37; T.Sarnowski (1978) Fig.3.

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[525] E.Baldwin Smith (1953) 70-72 takes the argument one step further by suggesting, improbably I think, that the mosaic is actually meant to represent the *divina domus* of the Imperial household.

[526] See above chapter 2.

potestas and not as a practical system of defence, so too in the 4th century it is probable that the towers sometimes mentioned in literary sources and depicted on mosaics as a feature of country houses had much more of a symbolic value than a strategic one.[527] One has only to remember the *turricula* which Palladius later describes as rising from his stately *praetorium*. Its function, he makes clear, was principally to serve as a dove-cote.[528]

C. Fortified villas

In 4th century literature there are, however, occasional hints of the kind of incident which might have given a powerful *dominus* reason to wish for effective protection. Symmachus, as Praefectus Urbi in A.D. 384, had to deal with a serious case of land seizure (*ereptio*) and abduction involving the powerful senator Olybrius, who had designs on an estate at Praeneste belonging to one Scirtius *vir spectabilis*.[529] There were those too who, as a result of their elevated social status or great wealth, had good reason to fear the machinations of their political enemies: men like the notoriously cruel Maximinus (Praefectus Urbi 371-2 A.D.) who owned what appears to have been a well-protected property in Rome;[530] or the ill-starred senator Ablabius (P.P.O. 329-337 A.D.) who in retirement at his villa in Bithynia in 337/8 was faced with the approach of an armed and menacing posse sent by the emperor Constantius with instructions to liquidate this potential rival to the imperial purple.[531]

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[527] L.Quilici and S.Quilici Gigli 'Ville dell'Agro Cosano con fronte a torette' *Riv.Ist.Arch e Stor.dell'Arte* 3.1 (1978) 11-64. For towers in 4th century villa architecture see above chap.6.

[528] Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.24.1. For dove-cotes in Late Republican and Early Imperial villa architecture cf. P.W.Lehmann *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) 106-8.

[529] Symmachus *Rel.*28; cf. R.Barrow *Prefect and Emperor* (Oxford 1973) 153ff; J.Matthews (1975) 2.

In the face of such potential dangers one of the few realistic means of defence was to surround the buildings of the villa by a circuit wall, a practice not unknown from the earliest days of the Roman villa.[532] This required enormous resources of materials and manpower but was evidently not beyond the capabilities of the most powerful landlords. In the 4th century the model for this type of villa defence was provided by several imperial palaces, of which perhaps the most impressive was the great palace built by Diocletian at Split on the coast of Dalmatia (Fig.56).[533] Here in effect was a massive *villa maritima* protected on all sides by an immense outer wall which incorporated sixteen towers. Within this circuit wall were ranged all the amenities of a rich residential villa: reception rooms, banquet rooms, baths, ambulatories, service rooms, and more. Almost contemporary with this fortress-like villa at Split is the putative Imperial villa at Gamzigrad in Dacia Ripensis, where again we find a richly-appointed residence enclosed within a huge turreted circuit wall, dating in its second and major phase to the first half of the 4th century A.D. (Fig.51).[534] A similar sort of complex is suggested by the name "Villa Murocincta" which Ammianus gives to a villa owned by the Valentiniani in the countryside near Carnuntum in Pannonia.[535] If, as has plausibly been claimed, this villa is to be identified with the extensive ruins of the villa at Parndorf, we have here another example of a well-protected country house in use in the 4th century, where the main residential buildings of the *villa urbana* together with the ancillary farm buildings were all protected by a massive enclosure wall (Fig.50).

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[530] Amm.Marc.28.1.36: *de fenestra praetorii quadam remota.*

[531] Eunapius *V.Phil*.464.

[532] For example the famous account of Scipio's villa at Liternum, Seneca *Ep*.86.4: *vidi villam extructam lapide quadrato circumdatum silvae, turres quoque in propugnaculum villae utrimque subrectas*; cf. J.D'Arms (1970) 1-2; K.Swoboda (1969) 12.

[533] J. and T.Marasović *Le Palais de Dioclétian* (Zagreb 1969); K.Swoboda (1969) 287ff.; N.Duval 'Le "palais" de Dioclétian à Spalato à la lumière des récentes découvertes' *BSNAF* (1961) 76-117.

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[534] For bibliography see Appendix 2. This fortified villa perhaps represents the birth-place of Gaius Valerius Galerius Maximianus (Caesar A.D. 293-305) who, according to Lactantius *De Mort.Pers.*20.4, planned to retire to a life of secure *otium* behind "an impregnable wall" (*inexpugnabili muro*). Galerius was born in Dacia Ripensis and is said to have been buried there (Aurelius Victor *Epit*.40.16) so a connection between the villa and Galerius' projected retirement is not unreasonable. Unfortunately, however, the supposed dating of the major defence circuit at Gamzigrad does not fit in perfectly with this hypothesis. For a more detailed discussion see D.Srejović (1978) 54-63. It is interesting to note that in the 6th century Justinian is said to have commissioned a *τετραπύργιον* to be built around the place of his birth in Pannonia: Procopius *Aed*.4.1.17; C.Diehl (1901) 5 n.3. Evidently the protection of an imperial *patria*, whether it became the site of an imperial mausoleum or not, had an important political and religious significance.

[535] Amm.Marc.30.10.4; cf.above chap 1 n.7.

How commonly then was the fortified character of these imperial palaces echoed in the architecture of villas belonging to rich and influential members of the Late Roman aristocracy? Perhaps the best evidence for private building on this scale in the 5th century is the verse description by Sidonius of Leontius' walled villa at Burgus in Aquitania. Although writing in the 460s Sidonius makes it quite clear that the villa he is describing dates from an earlier period.[536] In particular he states that it was the original founder of the villa, Paulinus Pontius, who probably in the late 4th century A.D. had encircled the hill with high walls (*moenia*) and lofty towers (*celsae turres*). Although we cannot reconstruct Paulinus' villa in every detail from Sidonius' rather rhetorical description, there are enough clues in his detailed *ecphrasis* to suggest the general layout of the buildings and the system of fortification. It is clear that the outer walls formed a defensive circuit (*ambiet [sc. montem] altis moenis*); that they are massively built (*non illos machina muros/ non aries, non alta strues vel proximus agger/ non quae stridentes torquet catapulta molares/ sed nec testudo nec vinea nec rota currens/ iam positis scalis umquam quassare valebunt*); also that they enclose many, if not all, of the villa's buildings (*sedent per propugnacula thermae*).[537] Admittedly this is all very rhetorical but it is fair to suppose that Sidonius' description of the walls and towers of Leontius' villa reflects something more seriously defensive than, say, the *turricula* of Palladius' *praetorium* or the turrets crowning the façade of the mosaic villa of Dominus Julius. What in fact we seem to have at Burgus is in some ways a rather conventional kind of villa but one whose various agricultural and domestic buildings were protected on the landward side, away from the river Garonne, by a strongly-built enclosure wall, somewhat akin to the walled villas at Gamzigrad and Parndorf, for which claims of imperial ownership can in no way be taken as incontrovertible. There is a hint of something similar in Ausonius' reference to the *moenia Paulini* at Hebromagum.[538] Here, as at Leontius' villa and the excavated villa at Parndorf, we may note the close association of strong walls and large granaries. The construction of massive estate walls around luxurious villas in the 4th century was perhaps not common but reflects in particular a growing concern among rich landowners for the protection of the agricultural yield of their estates, on the safe-keeping and marketing of which their continued prosperity depended.

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[536] See above chap.4 n.15.

[537] The meaning seems to be "the baths lie along (i.e. just inside) the battlements" rather like the *horreum* at Parndorf. On the meaning of *propugnaculum* (="merlon") see

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[537] (cont'd) the detailed discussion by R.Rebuffat 'Propugnaculum' *Latomus* 43.1 (1984) 3-26.

[538] Ausonius *Ep.*25.15, 26.35, 27.126 (=*tecta Hebromagi*); on Paulinus villa here see further R.Etienne (1963) 276.

D. Late Antique *castella*

This leads us to a consideration of another important feature of the Late Roman landscape, the ubiquitous *castella* which are frequently mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources. What was the nature of these *castella* and what was their relationship to the traditional Roman villa? To begin with we may note that it has long been recognized that many of the *castella* recorded in the sources from at least the 2nd century A.D. onwards were of a civilian and not a military character. In North Africa, where the evidence for *castella* is particularly prolific, the term was used mainly to apply to village settlements on imperial and private estates.[539] As such it could signify either the actual buildings of the settlement or the settlement together with the lands which it served.[540] In composition the *castella* were much like *vici*; they might contain churches, granaries, hostels, markets, much the same kind of buildings we have already seen as characteristic of the *vici* of private estates.[541] But that is not to say, that all *vici* were *castella*. Augustine makes a definite distinction between these two types of rural settlement.[542] The thing which marked the *castella* out as different from other *vici* was the presence of some sort of fortification, usually a defensive circuit wall which gave the settlement the character of a massive stronghold which could serve as a refuge in times of crisis for the village population as well as a safe depository for the harvests and livestock of the surrounding farms.[543] It is to examples of such fortified strongholds that we may now turn our attention, not least to dispel any notions that these were "villas" or that their function was in any way similar to that of the more conventional aristocratic *suburbanum*.

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[539] M.Benabou *La résistance africaine à la Romanization* (Paris 1976) 186-194; P.-A.Fevrier 'Notes sur le développement urbain en Afrique du nord: les examples comparés de Djemila et de Sétif' *C.Arch.*14 (1964) 1-47; *idem* 'Inscriptions inédites relatives aux domaines de la région de Sétif' *Mélanges Piganiol 1* (1966) 217-218; S.Lancel *Actes de la Conference de Carthage en 411* (Paris 1972) 1.141-143.

[540] Contrast for example *ILS* 6887: *muros kastelli Dianensis extruxit colonos eiusdem kastelli*, and *ILS* 9382: *terminos inter k(astella) Gurolen/sem et Medianum*; also Eugippius *V.Severi* 12.1 referring to the destruction of crops *in finibus eiusdem castelli*.

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[541] For *vici* on private estates see above Chap 1, 14. For the individual features of *castella*: Augustine *Civ.Dei* 22.8, *Ep*.209; Eugippius *V.Severi* 15.1, 16.1; *It.Ant* 41 - churches; *ILS* 6890 which talks of a *saltus Horreorum* which its *coloni* have renamed Castellum Cellensis (Mauretania 243 A.D.); *It.Ant. loc.cit.* - hostels (*xenodochia*); *ILS* 6868 - the establishing of *nundiniae* at a *castellum* near Cirta, on which see further B.Shaw 'Rural markets in North Africa' *Ant.Afr.* 17 (1981) 37-83, especially 66-7.

[542] Augustine *Ep*.185.33: the Donatists pose a threat to *fundi, pagi, vici, castella, municipia, civitates*. In Greek however no such distinction is made. The single word κώμη is variously translated in the Vulgate, sometimes as *vicus/viculus* (e.g. Mark 8.23, 26; Luke 6.36, 56) sometimes as *castellum* (e.g. Luke 19.30 Bethany; 24.13 Emmaus; John 7.42 Bethlehem); cf. A.L.F.Rivet 'Castrum and castellum' in R.Goodburn and P.Bartholomew *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (B.A.R. S.15, Oxford 1976) 134-5.

[543] Salvian *De Gub*.5.8: *sicut hi qui hostium compulsi ad castella se conferunt*. The concept of a walled settlement is clear from *It.Ant.41: in quo loco est castellum modicum ... nihil habet intus praeter ecclesiam cum presbytero et duo xenodochia propter transeuntes*; cf. Libanius *Or*.47.7: ἐπι τὰς κώμας ταύτας τὰς διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τετειχισμένας.

We may begin with a reassessment of the fortress-like building overlooking the river Narenta at Mogorjelo in Dalmatia (Figs.52-53) which has sometimes been considered as an example of a "fortified villa".[544] The complex consists of a massive outer defence wall within which was a porticoed building, perhaps residential in function, as well as numerous peripheral chambers (? store-rooms) and a large plant for the processing of olive oil. The dating of the fortification wall is not altogether reliable but a late 3rd century date has been suggested, with reconstruction of the defences in the late 4th century A.D.[545] The excavators of this complex regarded it as an example of a Late Roman *Herrensitz*, that is a padronal country house fortified in much the same way as Leontius' villa at Burgus or Diocletian's palatial *villa maritima* at Split. But as we have already noted, behind their defensive walls Leontius' villa and Diocletian's palace included most of the conventional features of a traditional Roman villa - baths, colonnades, dining-halls, reception-rooms, and so on. At Mogorjelo the lack of any obvious signs of luxury in the internal structures suggests that we are not dealing here with a building designed to cater for the social and recreational needs of an aristocratic owner. Rather what we have here is a *castellum*, a fortified stronghold built to serve both as an administrative centre and a safe refuge for the farming personnel of a rich man's estate. The chief occupant of the modest buildings within the fortification was probably the landowner's *procurator* or *actor* who regulated the agricultural work of the *coloni* on behalf of an absentee landlord. Inscriptions occasionally link such individuals to the construction of buildings on the estates which they managed, buildings which were designed primarily for storage and defence.[546] For a true parallel to the complex at Mogorjelo we should turn not, as has sometimes been suggested, to the pretentious, semi-fortified villas of the North African estates but rather to a building like the so-called "Castrum Bizantinum" on the island of Brioni Grande in the North Adriatic.[547] Here again we find a strongly-built fortification wall, said to be of 4th or 5th century date, and within its perimeter a civilian settlement composed of a number of domestic and agricultural buildings;[548] not a *castrum* in the military sense as was once thought, but a *castellum* built to provide for the security of the rural population. In contrast the luxurious *villa maritima* at Val Catena on the east coast of the island may have continued in use during the 4th century as the country residence of the local *dominus*.[549]

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[544] E.Dyggve and H.Vetters (1966) 57ff; T.Sarnowski (1978) 64ff; S.Johnson (1983) 243.
[545] E.Dyggve and H.Vetters (1966) 51-2.

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[546] *CIL* 2.3222: construction of a *horreus* (sic.) by the *procurator* Tiberianus on an estate near Oreto in Spain (387 A.D.); *CIL* 5.5005: construction of a *tegurium* (sic.) by the *actor* of an estate near Lake Garda (201 A.D.); *CIL* 8.19328: construction of *turres* by the *actor* Numidius on the estate of Caelia Maxima in Numidia.

[547] A.Gnirs *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 5 (1911) 75-97; V.Jurkic-Girardi (1982) 592-3. For misleading comparisons between Mogorjelo and the villas of the North African mosaics see for example: E.Dyggve and H.Vetters (1966) 57-8; T.Sarnowski (1972) 65.

[548] For results of recent excavations see B.Marušić *Jadranski Zbornik* 9 (1973-5) 339-341.

E. *Castellum* and *suburbanum*

The contrast between these two types of rural settlement, the fortified *castellum* and the padronal *suburbanum* is perhaps best illustrated in the late 4th century in the East, in the rural landscape of Syria. Here, in the countryside around Antioch, the ownership of richly-adorned suburban villas during this period is well attested.[550] Further from the city, however, in particular on the central limestone plateau, the countryside was dotted with numerous villages composed of strongly-built, semi-fortified farmhouses which provided for the needs and security of the rural population. The defensible nature of these villages is suggested not only by the excavated remains of many of these farmhouses and other village buildings but also by the terms in which contemporary sources refer to these settlements.[551] Libanius talks of villages (*κώμαι*) fortified by their self-appointed military patrons, not least, it is implied, as a protection against acts of brigandage by neighbouring villages.[552] Jerome refers to many of the villages of Palestine, including his adoptive Bethlehem, as *castella*.[553]

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[549] There is no published evidence for occupation at Val Catena at this late date but for 4th century occupation at other Istrian villas see for example V.Girardi Jurkic (1982) 591 (Cervera Porto); A.Gnirs 'Frühe christliche Kultanlagen im Südlichen Istrien' *Kunsthistorisches Institut Jahrbuch* 5 (1911) 4 (Punta Barbariga).

[550] See above chap.4 n.48; J.Liebeschuetz (1972) 51; A.Festugière (1959) 53-4.

[551] For the archaeological record see the standard work by G.Tchalenko *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord* 3 Vols.

Ownership or patronage of these rural villages by aristocratic *oppidani* is often attested in 4th and 5th century sources. Letoius, a rich *curialis* of Antioch, is said to be *δεσπότης* of a village (*κώμη*) near Cyrrha.[554] Evagrius, Jerome's friend and patron and bishop of Antioch, was owner of a village (*viculus*) at Maronia about 30 miles east of Antioch.[555] What is important here is that these *same* aristocratic families are also known to have owned elegant *villae suburbanae* near Antioch. Evagrius' brother had a villa (*οἴκος λάμπρος*) at Daphne, the fashionable suburb on the hills overlooking the city;[556] Letoius a suburban estate (*κήπος*) with a private bath-house.[557] Here then we have a familiar pattern; rich members of the municipal aristocracy with widespread property interests which included on the one hand a luxurious villa for their

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[551] (cont'd) (Paris, 1953) 405ff.

[552] Libanius *Or*.47.4 and 7; cf. F.De Zululeta 'De Patrociniis Vicorum' in P.Vinogradoff *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* Vol.1 (Oxford 1909) 29, who regards Libanius' references to fortification as rhetorical. But Libanius' imagery is consistent with the austere nature of many of the excavated buildings. On Libanius' speech see also J.Liebeschuetz (1972) 201ff; M.Arnheim (1972) 149ff.

[553] See above note xx.

[554] Theoderet *Rel.Hist*.14; Libanius *Ep*.1175; cf. P.Petit (1955) 331.

[555] Jerome *V.Malchi* 2.

[556] Libanius *Ep*.660.

[557] *idem Ep*.877.

own recreational use on land near the city, and on the other more distant estates with village settlements where fortified buildings provided some degree of protection for their *coloni* and safe storage for the agricultural surplus of their farmlands.

Sometimes, as was evidently the case at Leontius' villa in Aquitania, the buildings of a single large estate might serve both functions at once. Here at the one site was a luxurious country residence which was also a massive stronghold built for storage and community protection. More often, however, the aristocratic *suburbanum* in the later 4th century was at best only partially fortified. There is nothing, for example, to suggest fortification at Paulinus' villa in the vicinity of Bordeaux; nothing to suggest defensive building at Montmaurin or Valentine. The richness and vulnerability of such villas made them an obvious prey to the rapacity of barbarian armies. Abandoned by their owners, many fell victim to pillage and arson during the turbulent decades of the late 4th and early 5th centuries.[558]

F. Villa defence in the 6th century

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[558] See above chap.6 n.74.

The widespread destruction of rural property during this period must have led many landowners to rethink the whole question of villa security and to give careful consideration to the risks of spending long periods in residence in the country. Some simply abandoned the whole idea and sold their properties, if they could, to start a new life somewhere more secure. Paulinus of Pella, for example, after the destruction of his property in Aquitania, fled to safer, if poorer, surroundings in Marseilles.[559] Paulinus of Nola sold property in Aquitania to help finance his new monastery in Campania.[560] Jerome sent an agent from the relative security of his monastery in Palestine to arrange for the sale of his family property near Aquileia.[561] Melania and Pinianus, we are told, sold their estates in Italy and Spain and fled to Africa.[562] By the mid-5th century, however, conditions in many parts of the residual Roman world were sufficiently stable to allow a renewed flourishing of country life. Sidonius and his aristocratic friends travelled to and from their villas in relative peace and security and although there are occasional hints of brigandage, the danger seems to be diminishing.[563] Relaxing at his villa at Avitacum, he gives no suggestion of concern for the villa's security nor any indication of defensive architecture. At about the same time in Italy Palladius was able to enjoy the use of his estates near Rome and to write about building villas without so much as a hint of the need for fortification.

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[559] Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*520ff. For other aristocratic refugees from Gaul during this period see J.Matthews (1975) 326ff.
[560] *Chron.Min.*I.650 (=*Chron.Gallica* A.CCCCLII.41).
[561] Jerome *Ep.*64.14.
[562] *V.Melaniae* I.12, 19, II.6; cf. chap.1 n.18.
[563] Sidonius *Ep.*6.6.1: *comperi neque quicquam viantibus insidiarum parari*; cf. E.A.Thompson *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain* (Woodbridge 1984) 73, referring to Germanus' journey from Auxerre to Ravenna in

In the 6th century there are some signs of a change in attitude towards villa security. Scattered references to rural buildings suggest a rather more prevalent "fortress mentality", although it must be admitted that the language of the literary sources is not always easy to interpret. Again, however, it would be rash to propose any sort of broad or universal development. For although there is some reason to believe that more villas were built with a degree of fortification, there are also indications that the traditional open villa continued to be a familiar feature of the rural landscape. There were no doubt many factors which individually or collectively contributed to an increasing sense of insecurity among rich and powerful landowners. In the background there was nearly always the threat of war with all the potential dangers it brought for those living in the countryside. We hear, for instance, of growing lawlessness among Gothic army units who are frequently charged with the seizure of estates and the abduction of slaves.[564] There are indications that some powerful

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[563](cont'd) ?437 A.D.: "he travels in peace ... which seems on the surface to be as orderly and as unbroken as if the Empire were still ruled by Augustus or Trajan".

[564] Greg.Great *Dial*.1.10; Cassiodorus *Variae* 5.12.2, 5.14.8, 8.27.2; Procopius *Wars* 5.3.1-4.1.

landowners were prepared to exploit the vicissitudes of war to settle personal scores.[565] We hear of private militias mobilized to attack the houses of political opponents.[566] In such circumstances it is not surprising to find that some men of rank felt a need for increased protection for themselves and their followers. In the 540s, for example, a leading citizen of Verona is said by Procopius to be living "in a fort" (ἐν φρουρίῳ) not far from the city.[567] Marcellinus, bishop of Milan in the 530s, built a *castrum* beside lake Como as a refuge for himself and his supporters.[568] So too Benenatus, bishop of Misenum in the 590s, received money for the construction of a *castrum* in that region.[569] Of course the problem with literary references like these is that we have no real idea of the architectural form or precise function of the buildings concerned. We are, however, better informed regarding the fortified nature of a number of 6th century rural buildings in other areas of former Roman control.

Procopius, in the course of his narrative of events in North Africa during Belisarius' reconquest of the territory from the Vandals in the 530s, gives an intersting description of a rural building located in the countryside two days journey south of Carthage.[570] The villa (*οἰκία*), he says, was used as a refuge by a military unit of 22 men under their leader Diogenes, and in describing a small incident which occurred there, Procopius reveals several interesting details of the building's architecture. There was a strong principal gateway (*θύραι*) through which Diogenes' men entered a courtyard (*αὔλειον*); their horses were stabled inside the building, presumably in stables flanking the courtyard, while the men themselves slept upstairs (*ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ*). From this description there can be little doubt that the villa was designed with at least some thought for security, which in this instance certainly proved its worth. The scene described by Procopius fits well with the image on a late 5th century mosaic from Carthage (Fig.55) which shows a Vandal horseman setting out from a very impregnable-looking country house whose windows are set high up in a strongly-built outer wall.

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[565] Cassiodorus *Variae* 12.5.5.
[566] Greg.Tours. *HF* 9.35: Waddo, major-domo of Rigunth's household, attacks a villa near Poitiers belonging to Beretrude's daughter; Greg.Great *Ep*.6.43: the patrician Venantius organizes *armati homines* to attack the house of the bishop of Syracuse.
[567] Procopius *Wars* 7.3.6; T.Hodgkin (1896) IV.391. Procopius elsewhere uses the word φρουριον to refer to the walled acropolis of Cumae: *Wars* 7.6.4.
[568] *CIL* V.5418; S.Johnson (1983) 242.
[569] Greg.Great *Ep*.9.51.

A story by Gregory of Tours, also set in the 530s, gives a comparable picture of a villa (he uses the word *domus*) near the Moselle.[571] This building again featured a courtyard (*atrium*) entered through strong gates (*ianuae*) with stables opening onto the yard. At night the *custos equorum* was responsible for bolting the gates which seem to have provided the principal access to the building. This villa near the Moselle belonged to a Frankish *dominus*, probably a man of modest wealth and distinction, particularly when compared to another landowner in that area in the 6th century, the illustrious bishop Nicetius of Trier, whose villa (*fabrica*) on the slopes of the Moselle valley we have already had cause to mention.[572] Venantius describes this villa in a way which leaves no doubt about its strongly fortified character.[573] No less than thirty turrets were built into the protective wall which encircled the estate, while in one tower a mighty *ballista* was set in readiness to repel any would-be assailants. Venantius describes the whole villa as being *prope castellum* which is easily understood when we remember that the defensive circuit protected not only the padronal *domus* but also the various agricultural buildings of the estate. Nicetius' villa was more than just a bishop's country house *cui semper adhaerebat quotiens ab ecclesiasticis actibus vacabat*.[574] This was a rural stronghold offering safe refuge for Nicetius' *coloni* and safe storage for his agricultural surplus.[575]

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[570] Procopius *Wars* 3.23.9ff.
[571] Greg.Tours *HF* 3.15.

As in earlier centuries, however, it was probably only the richest, most powerful, or most hated *domini*, or those living in particularly vulnerable regions, who would have invested large sums in fortifying the buildings of their country estates. Probably the great majority of *domini* continued to work their land and enjoy the pleasures of country life as best they could without resorting to constructions of a quasi-military nature. In Theoderic's Italy the image of the open, unwalled residential villa (*villa urbana*) is one obviously familiar to Cassiodorus who in the 530s uses it to illustrate the unprotected character of his home town Scyllacium.[576] In a letter to his palace architect Theoderic draws a clear distinction between the building of *castella* and the *amoenitas praetorii construendi*.[577] The contrast suggests that the latter are not fortified but, like the *praetoria lucentia* of Istria, represent the elegant residential villas of the age.

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[572] See above chap.7.

[573] Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.3.12.

[574] Above chap.1 n.100.

[575] A comparable type of stronghold is hinted at in 6th century references to the *castellum Lucullanum* near Naples, which was chosen as a place of exile for the last "Roman" emperor Romulus Augustulus. This *castellum* included among its buildings a mausoleum built by the *femina illustris* Barbaria; Eugippius *V.Severi* 46.2. See Z.Cantarelli 'L'ultimo rifugio di Romolo Augustulo' *Historia* 2 (1928) 185-190.

In the last years of the 6th century the image of the traditional unfortified villa or farmhouse continues to punctuate the literary record. We find bishop Leontius busy restoring the ruins of antique villas near Bordeaux whose various features (*porticus, balnea, mettalum, lacus*) seem typical of the luxurious mansions of an earlier age.[578] Nothing in Venantius' poetic descriptions of these villas is remotely suggestive of fortified building. The same appears true of another contemporary villa in Gaul which features in a story told by Gregory of Tours. Gregory describes an attack made by a small private militia on a villa near Poitiers.[579] The defence of the villa is left to an improvised home guard who line up *ante fores domini sui*, determined to fight to the death for their master. Valour is rewarded. The attack is beaten off and the chief assailant Waddo carried from the fray transfixed by a javelin hurled by the son of the villa's baillif. Again there is nothing in this story which hints at fortification, no suggestion of battlements, towers or circuit walls built to facilitate defence. It would be wrong then to suppose that by the end of the 6th century the traditional open villa had disappeared from the landscape, to be replaced widely by the fortress-like constructions of men like Nicetius. As had been the case for centuries, there were no doubt some powerful *domini* who for reasons of security and display wished to grace their estates with massive and imposing constructions. But side by side with these the landscape continued to be dotted with ordinary farmhouses and villas whose unfortified and sometimes luxurious character provides an important indication of cultural continuity between the world of 4th century Rome and that of early mediaeval Europe.

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[576] Cassiodorus *Variae* 12.15.5: *non habet muros, civitatem credis ruralem, villam iudicare possis urbanam.*
[577] *Variae* 7.5.4; cf.T.Hodgkins (1886) 323, who wrongly translates *praetorium* here as "general's headquarters". On the alternative meaning of the word (= "country house") see below Appendix 1.
[578] Venantius Fortunatus *Car.*1.18 - 20.

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[579] Greg.Tours *HF* 9.35.

X. CONCLUSION

What then can we conclude about the survival or transformation of the Roman villa during the two and a half centuries following the death of Constantine the Great? We have demonstrated how the traditional *suburbanum* survived as a feature of aristocratic life well into the 6th century, but what indications have we found that its traditional form was modified or adapted to meet the changing social, economic and cultural conditions of the post-Roman world?

One thing seems clear. The form of the Roman villa did not undergo any sort of major metamorphosis during these centuries. We are not faced in the 5th century with a new 'type' of Roman villa, nor indeed should we even think in terms of 'typical' villas. For the villas of Late Antiquity do not conform easily to types. The buildings which form the focus of our study are all individual, organic structures, not examples of standardized building types. A villa was not like a temple or an amphitheatre; it had no predefined form. Rather it was created as the sum of a number of component parts, the range, scale, luxury, and arrangement of which were always subject to individual taste and resources. What we have found is not so much a change in the concept of what constituted a great villa, but rather a gradual erosion of the political and economic environment which permitted the development of such villas on a wide scale.

The 4th century was the golden age of the Late Roman villa, an age when countless villas were built or rebuilt to incorporate a wide range of leisure and recreational features - libraries, public and private dining-rooms, elaborate bath-houses, gymnasia, porticoes, even race-courses, each designed to cater for the different aristocratic social rituals of the age, many decorated with unabashed ostentation. Such luxury in villa construction is attested in many parts of the 4th century Roman Empire. If the archaeological record suggests that this was largely a phenomenon of the Latin West, the literary evidence makes it plain that the luxurious *suburbanum* was no less a feature of the landscape around the great cities of the East.

During the 5th and 6th centuries, however, it is possible to detect some divergence in the design and use of villas among the post-Roman aristocracies in the Byzantine East and the Latin West. In the West the scale of investment in villa construction diminished during the 5th century. Although many of the traditional components of villa architecture continue to be mentioned intermittently in the sources, evidence for new villa building is scarce. The decline in affordable luxury resulted in part, one must suppose, from the steady erosion of one of the mainstays of aristocratic wealth, the great overseas *latifundia*, control of which was now being wrested from their former owners at the hands of invading armies. Of course not all aristocratic wealth derived from such distant estates. Many aristocratic families were able to survive these depredations and continued to derive considerable fortunes from their estates nearer home. But often it is apparent that the villas they frequent, and occasionally describe, belong not to their own age but to an earlier age of greater aristocratic prosperity. Sidonius writes admiringly of Leontius' 'ancestral home' near Bordeaux; Gontharis maintains the old protocol of Roman banqueting in an antique dining-hall at Carthage. But while some villas evidently survived the passage of time and the ravages of war, others were less fortunate. 5th and 6th century sources are littered with references to ransacked villas left in ruins, to once great houses in both town and country which fell victim to aristocratic impoverishment and were left unrenovated or abandoned.

The general decline in aristocratic prosperity in the West had inevitable consequences for the appearance of new villas built during this period. One was a forced abandonment of the more extravagant components of villa architecture. By the 6th century many of the more gratuitous luxuries of villa architecture, features such as porticoes, outdoor swimming-pools, ball-courts and so on, are rarely attested outside the context of Papal villas and Imperial palaces. Secondly we have observed an apparent reduction in the scale of aristocratic households in the West, which seem no longer to match the thronging crowds which we find in attendance at the villas of the great families of the 4th and early 5th centuries. The rambling service quarters so often found associated with 4th century villas were no longer needed. Instead a more consolidated architecture emerges, devoid of many of the blatant luxuries of an earlier age.

Consistent with this view of a more compact villa layout is the idea that in some 5th and 6th century villas there was an increased emphasis on security, a feeling that at least some measures should be taken to safeguard the villa's occupants and stockpiled stores against the threat of random attack and brigandage. Nevertheless, as we have demonstrated, this concern was neither new nor universal among villa owners of the 5th and 6th centuries. 'Fortified' villas can sometimes be identified during these centuries, usually in vulnerable frontier regions, but alongside these defensible buildings the traditional open villa survived as a common feature of the Late Antique landscape.

In the East during the 5th and 6th centuries, with the emergence of the new Byzantine Empire, there are no signs of a comparable undermining of aristocratic wealth. Indeed the opposite appears true. The widespread evidence for new public and private buildings, many of which were adorned with rich mosaics, speaks of an age of sustained aristocratic prosperity. Private wealth continued to be invested in all kinds of luxurious buildings among which were the town houses and suburban villas of the upper classes, and in these were retained many of the traditional components of earlier domestic architecture. Large households continued to be employed in the villas of the rich, and with them the need continued for extensive service quarters. Traditional dining protocol remained a honoured aristocratic custom throughout the 5th century and continued to influence the design of private houses. Eventually, however, as in the West, the contexts in which the traditional components of the old Roman villa survived became increasingly selective. Architectural features which in the 4th century are broadly attested in aristocratic villas had by the close of the 6th century come to be associated almost exclusively with the houses and palaces of a select ruling oligarchy of bishops, popes, emperors and kings.

XI. FIGURES

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Fig.2	Piazza Armerina. Elevation of triple-arched gateway (A.Carandini (1982) Foglio 2.4).
Fig.3	Mosaic from Thina, North Africa. Late 4th to 5th century A.D. (G.Ville *Karthago* 11 (1961) Plate 1c).
Fig.4	Mosaic from Tabarka, North Africa. Late 4th to early 5th century A.D. (K.Dunbabin (1978) Fig.112).
Fig.5	Mosaic from Antioch, Syria. 5th century A.D. A.Carandini *Arch.Class.* 14 (1962) Plate 101.3).
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Fig.55	Mosaic from Carthage, Bordj-Djedid. Late 5th or 6th century A.D. (K.Dunbabin (1978) Fig.40).
Fig.56	Diocletian's palace at Split, Dalmatia. (H.Kähler (1973) Fig.4).

FIGURE 1

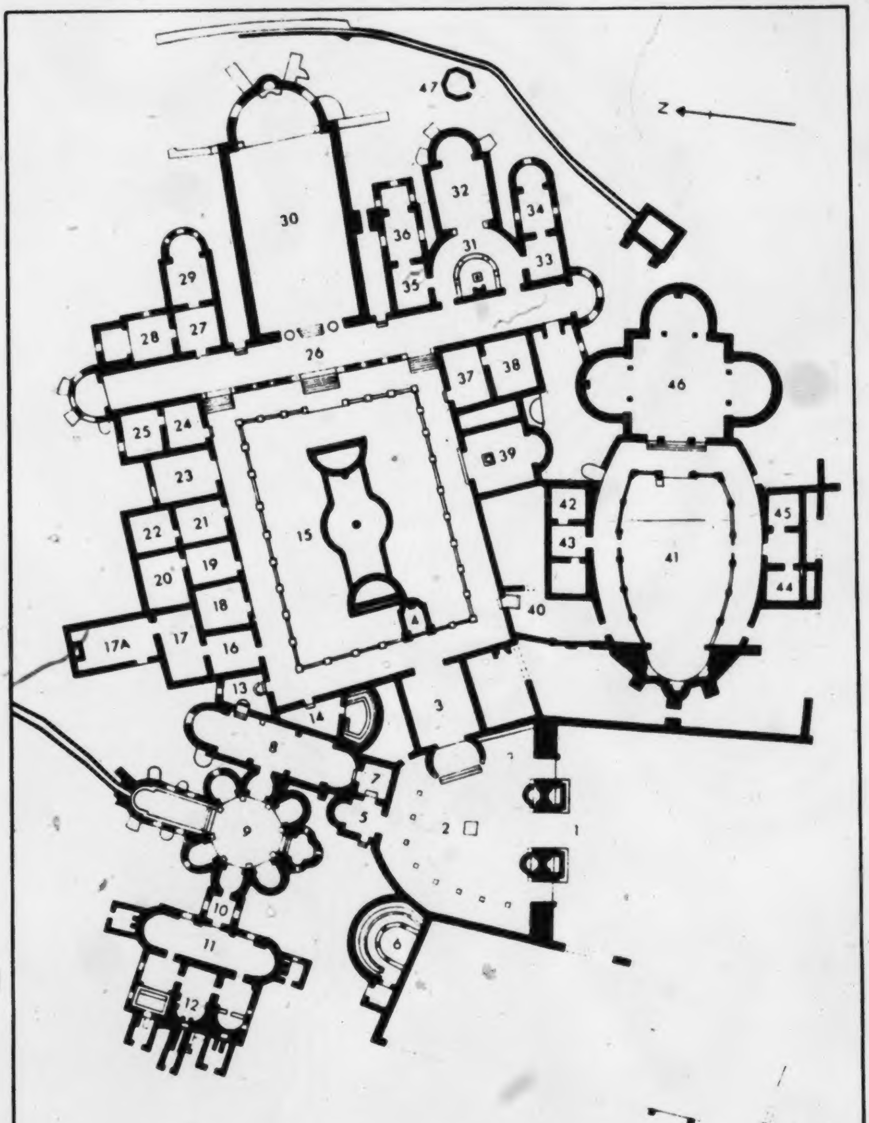

Z
50 METRES

FIGURE 2

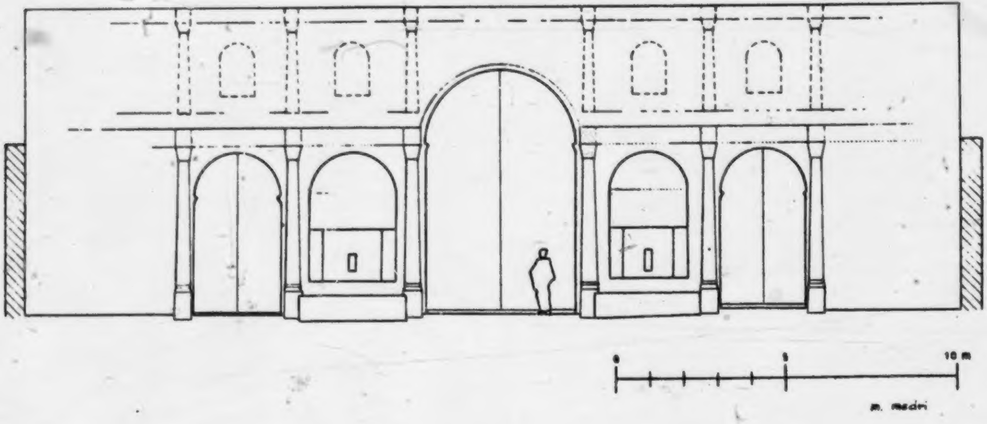
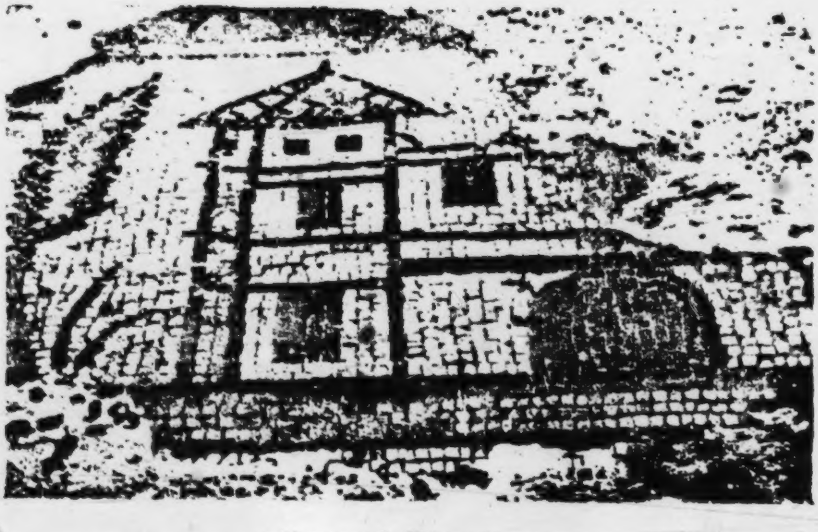

0
5
10 m
m. medri

FIGURE 3



c) Mosaique de Thina (cf. n. 90).

FIGURE 4

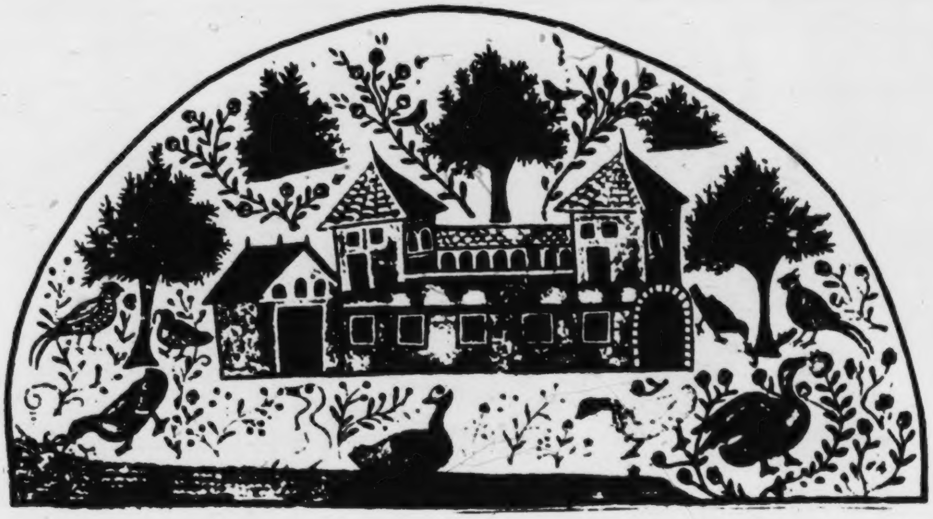


FIGURE 5

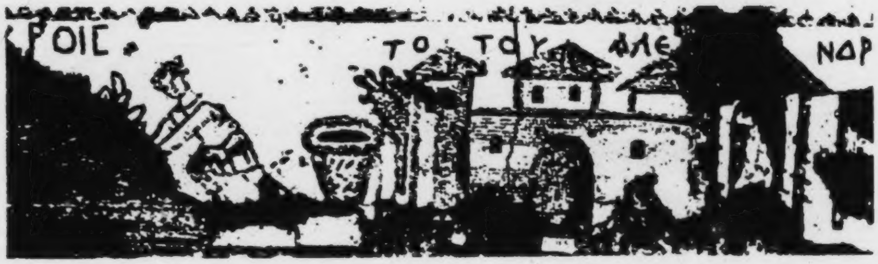
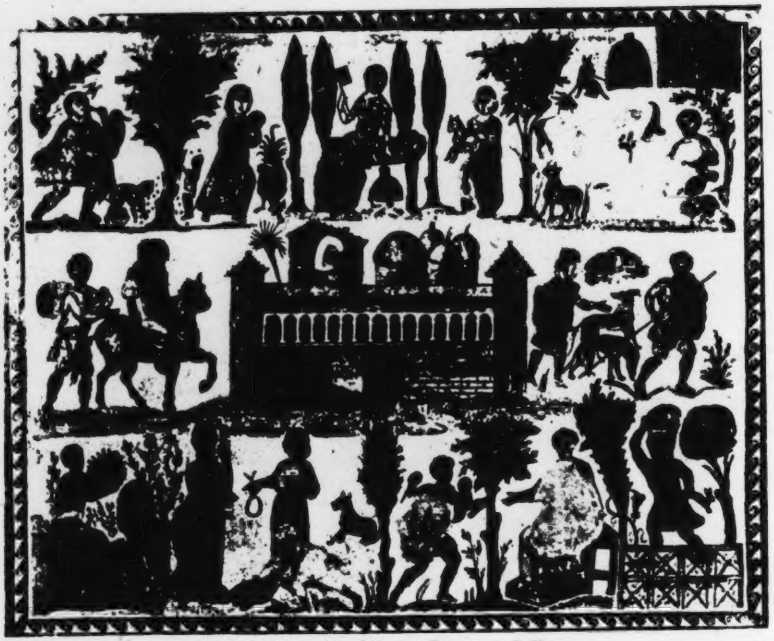
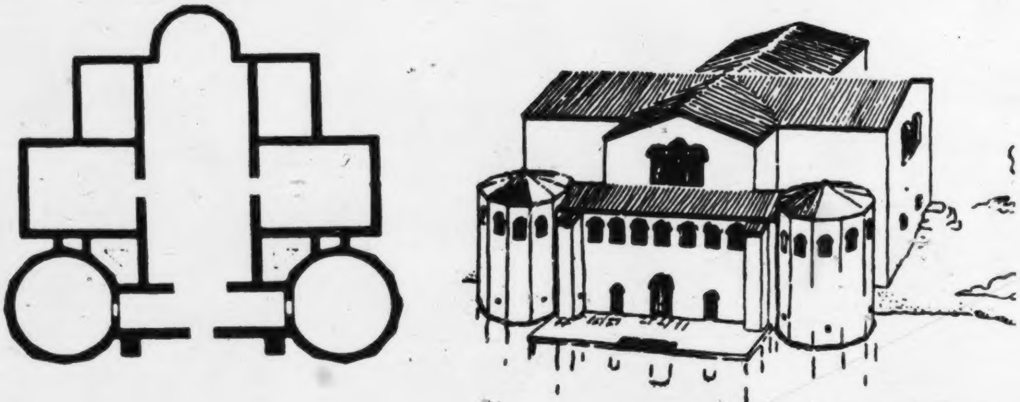

ΡΟΙϹ
ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕ
ΝΔΡ

FIGURE 6



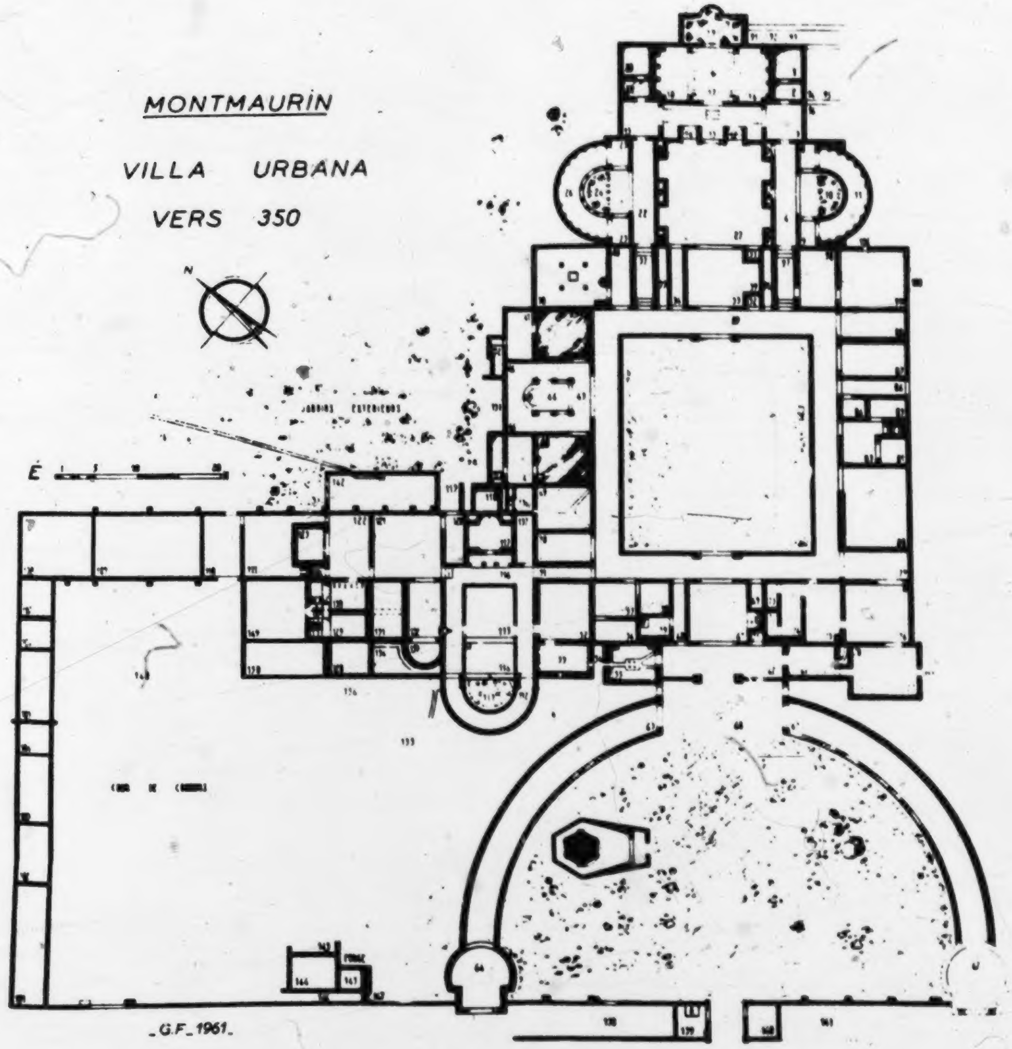
b) Karthago, Mosaik des Dominus Julius.

FIGURE 7



Porto Palazzo Luka Polače , Rekonstr. Dyggve.

FIGURE 8


MONTMAURIN
VILLA URBANA
VERS 350
N
E
_G.F_1961_

41 Montmaurin, Hte-Garonne

FIGURE 9

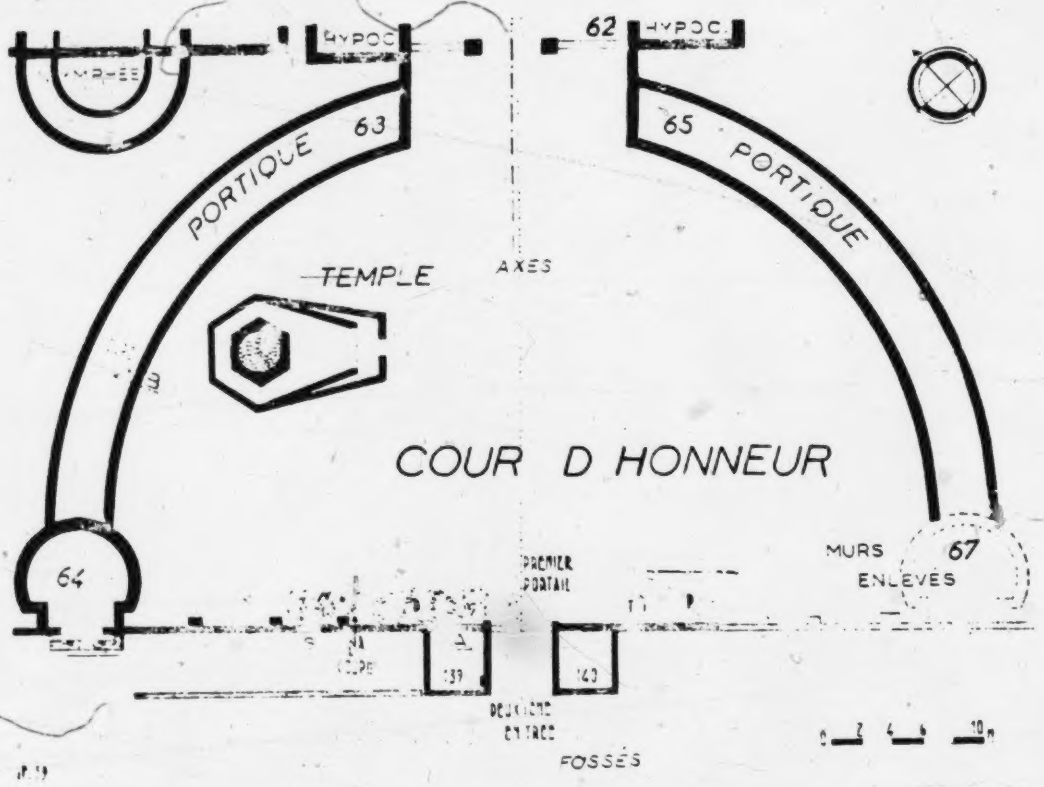

HYPOC
62
HYPOC
63
PORTIQUE
65
PORTIQUE
TEMPLE
AXES
COUR D HONNEUR
64
PREMIER PORTAIL
MURS ENLEVÉS
67
139
140
FOSSÉS
0 2 4 6 10 m

FIGURE 10

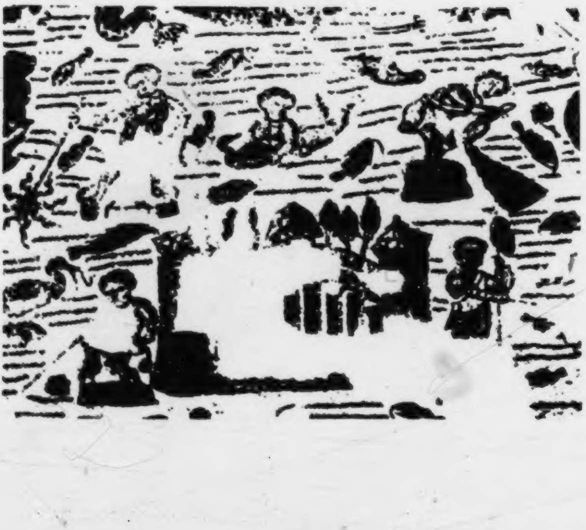


FIGURE 11

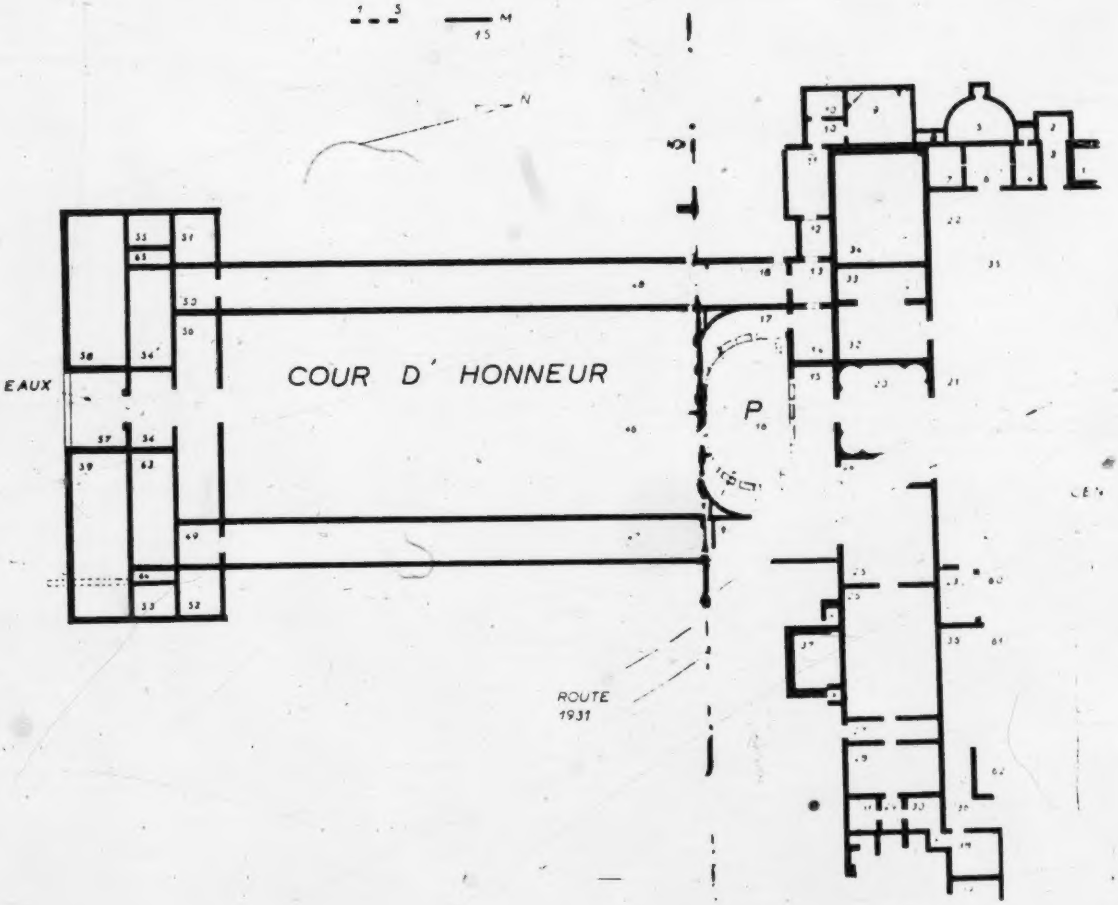

N
M
COUR D' HONNEUR
EAUX
P
ROUTE
1931

FIGURE 12

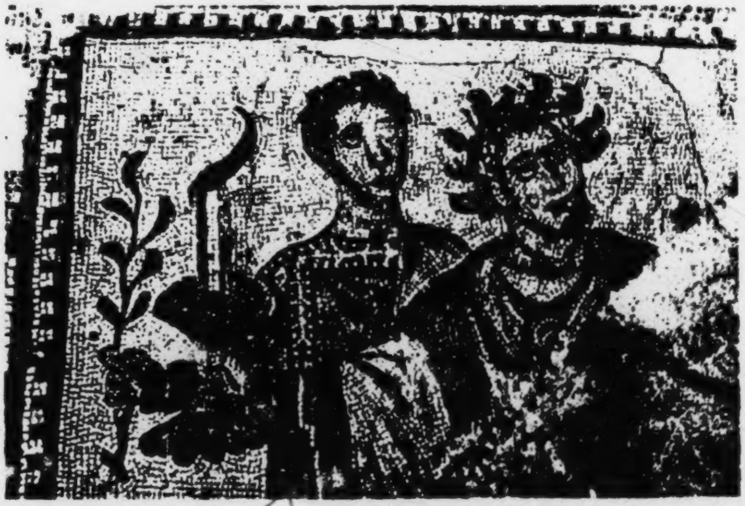


FIGURE 13

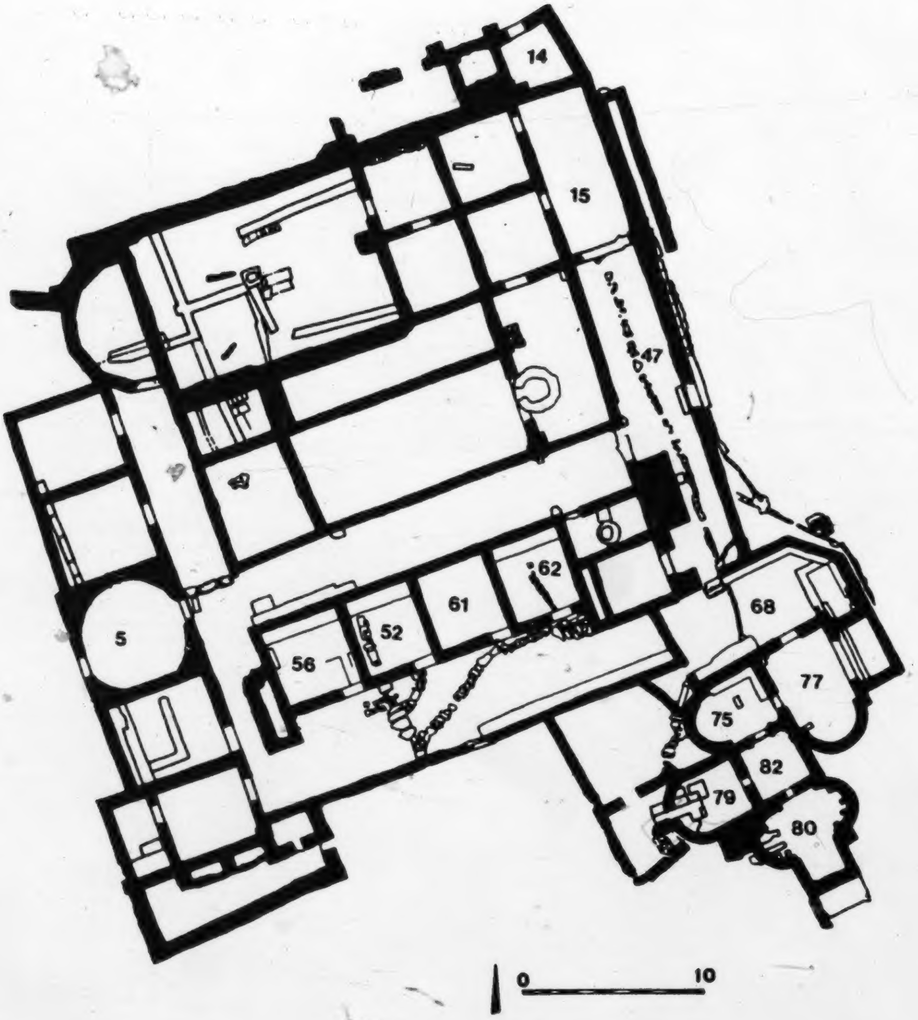
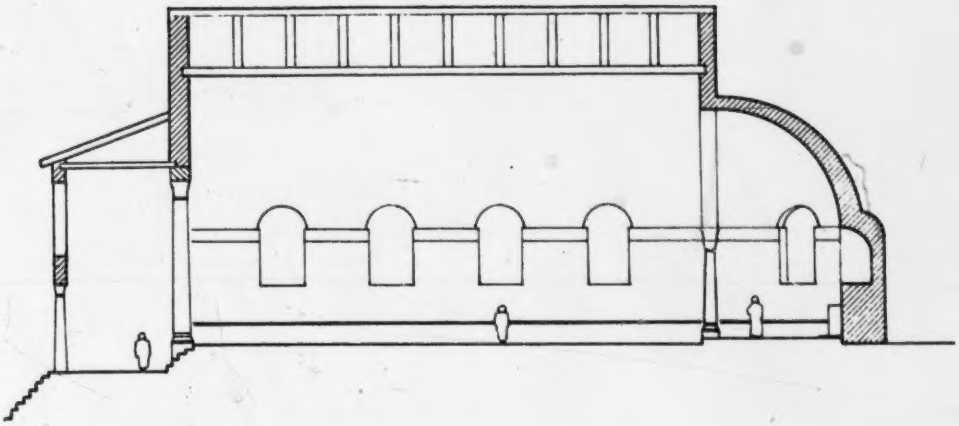

14
15
47
62
61
52
56
5
68
77
75
82
79
80
0
10

FIGURE 14



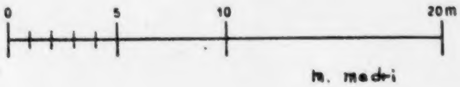

0
5
10
20m
M. medri

FIGURE 15

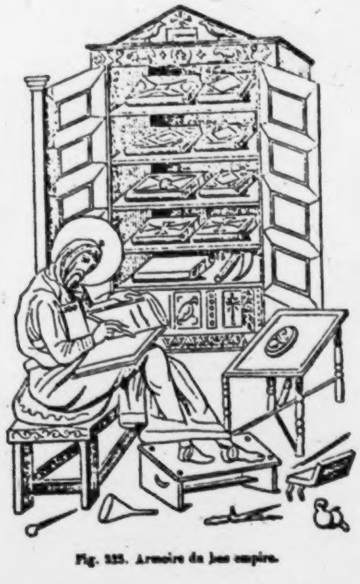


Fig. 325. Armoire du bas empire.

FIGURE 16

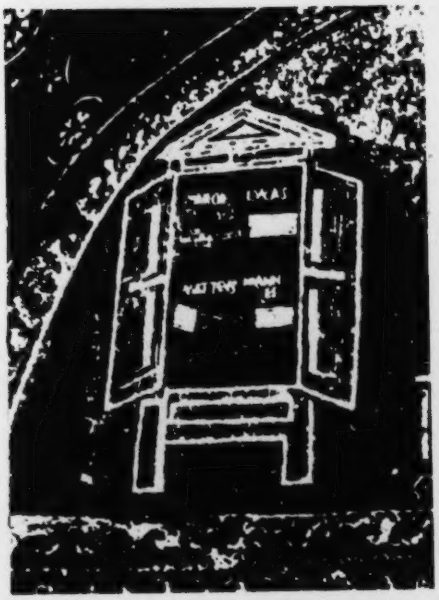
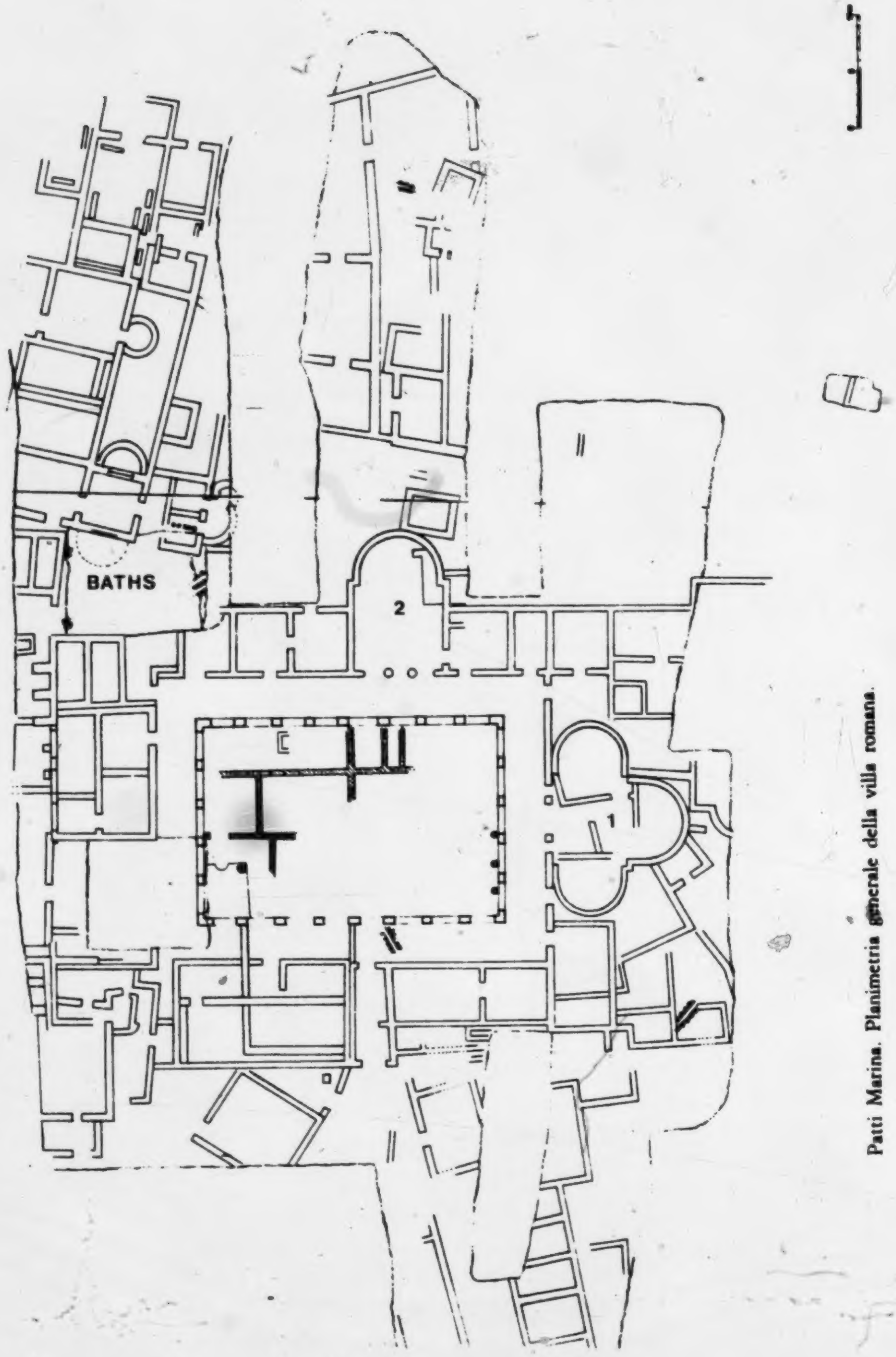


FIGURE 17



Patti Marina. Planimetria generale della villa romana.

FIGURE 18

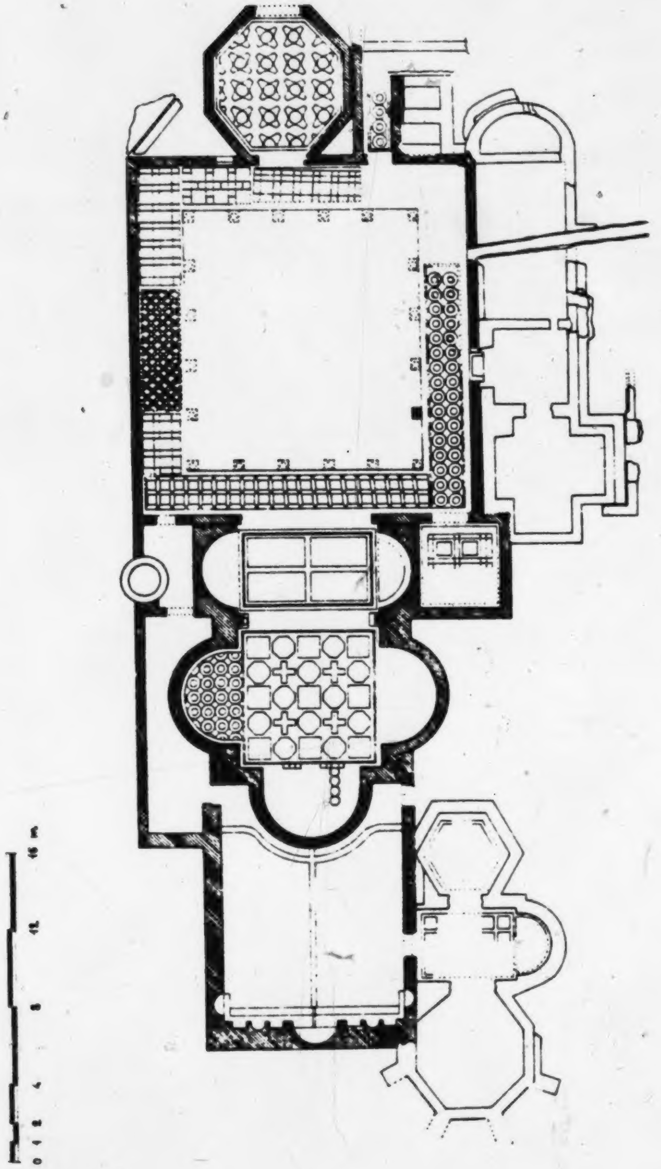

0 1 2 4 8 12 16 m

FIGURE 19

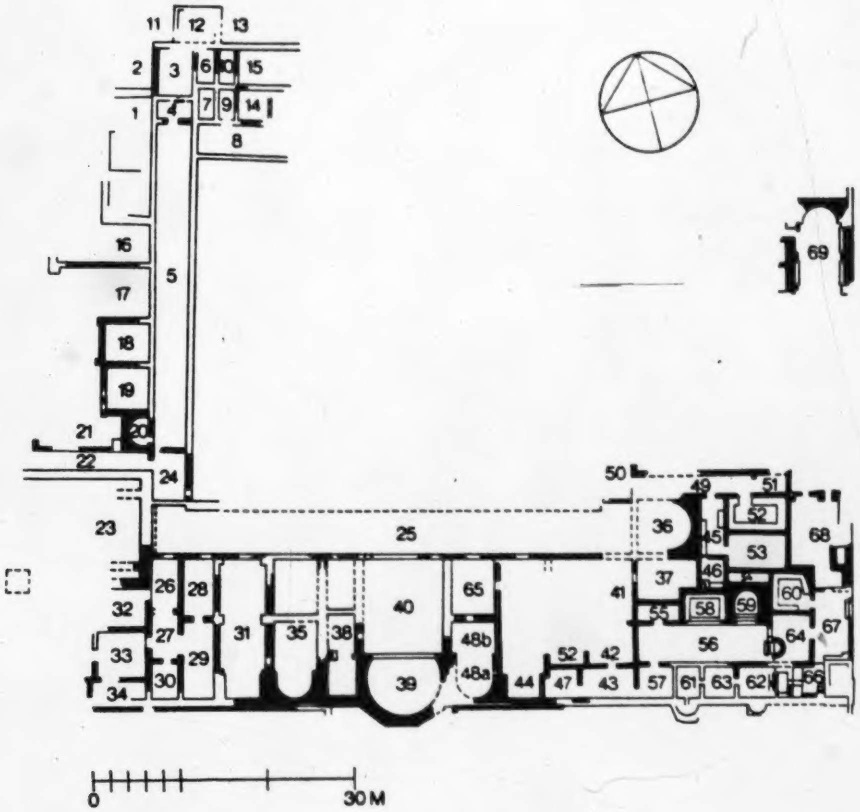

30 M

FIGURE 20

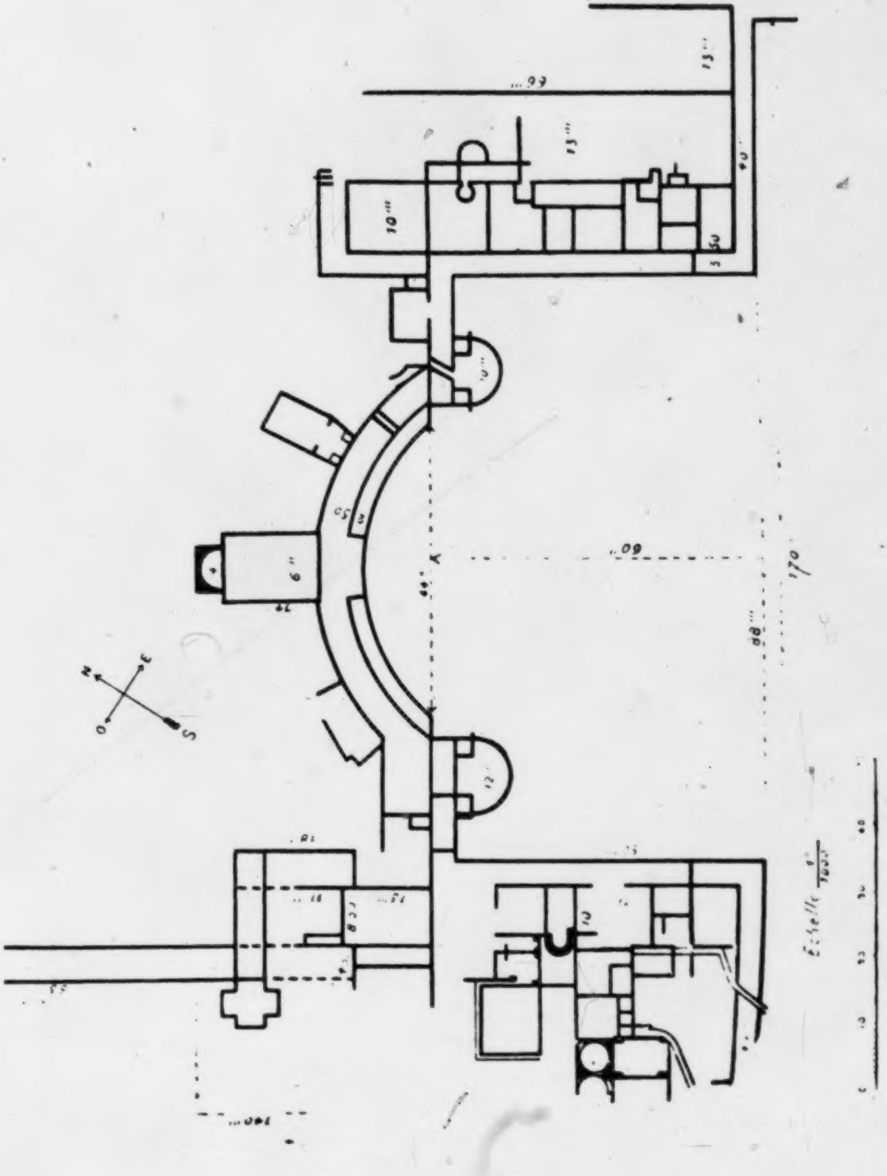

66'''
13''
13'''
10'''
40'
3'50
10''
6''
60''
88'''
170
12'
N
E
O
S
140''
Echelle 1/1000

FIGURE 21

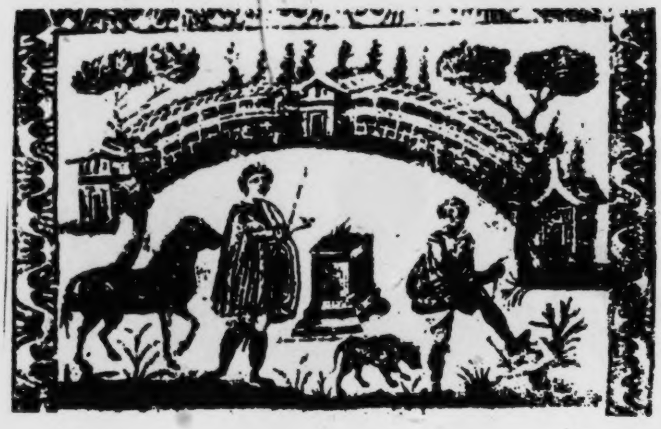


FIGURE 22

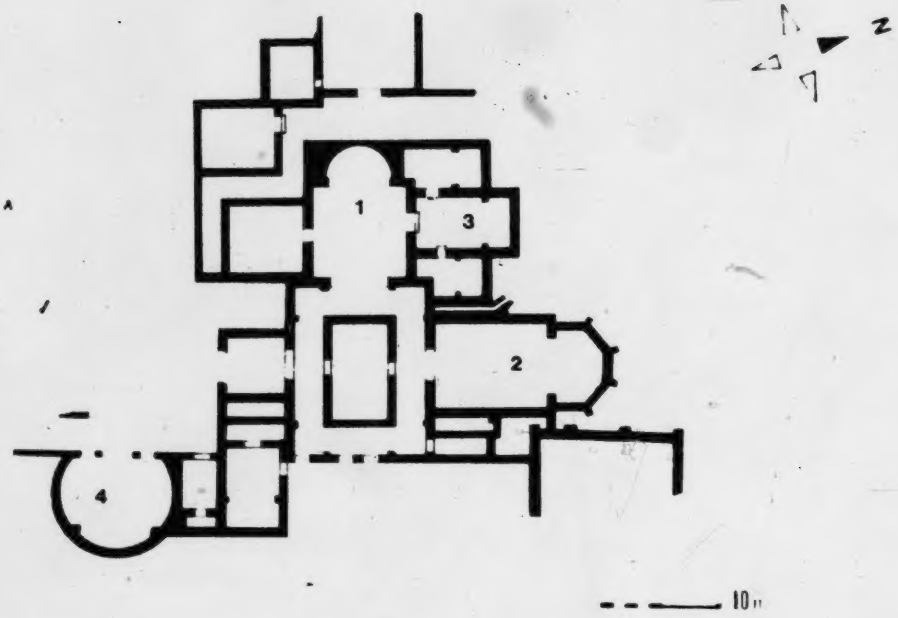
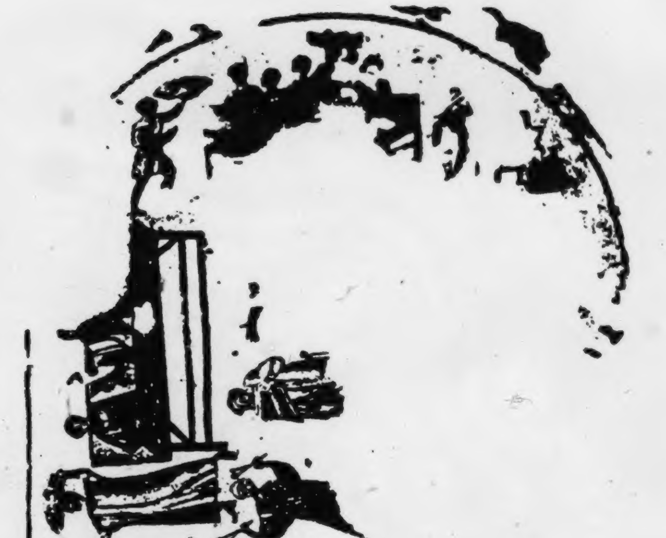


FIGURE 23



Carthage, Mosaic of Banquet (Carthage 29)

FIGURE 24

Plan de la villa de LA TASQUE

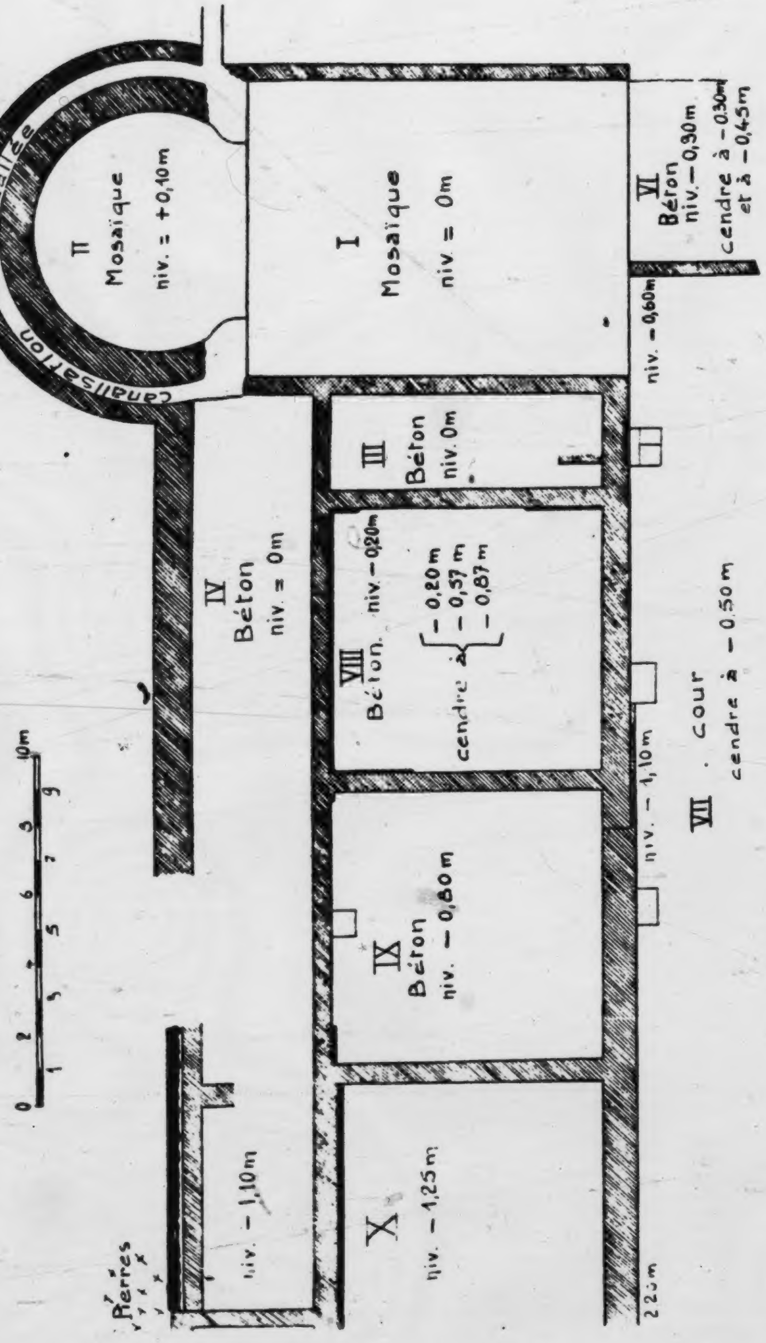

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10m
dallée
canalisation
II
Mosaïque
niv. = +0,10m
I
Mosaïque
niv = 0m
VI
Béton
niv. – 0,30m
cendre à – 0,30m
et à – 0,45m
niv. – 0,60m
III
Béton
niv. 0m
IV
Béton
niv. = 0m
VIII
Béton.
niv. – 0,20m
cendre à – 0,20 m
– 0,57 m
– 0,87 m
VII
cour
cendre à – 0,50 m
niv. – 1,10m
IX
Béton
niv. – 0,80m
X
niv. – 1,25m
niv. – 1,10m
Pierres
22,5m

FIGURE 25

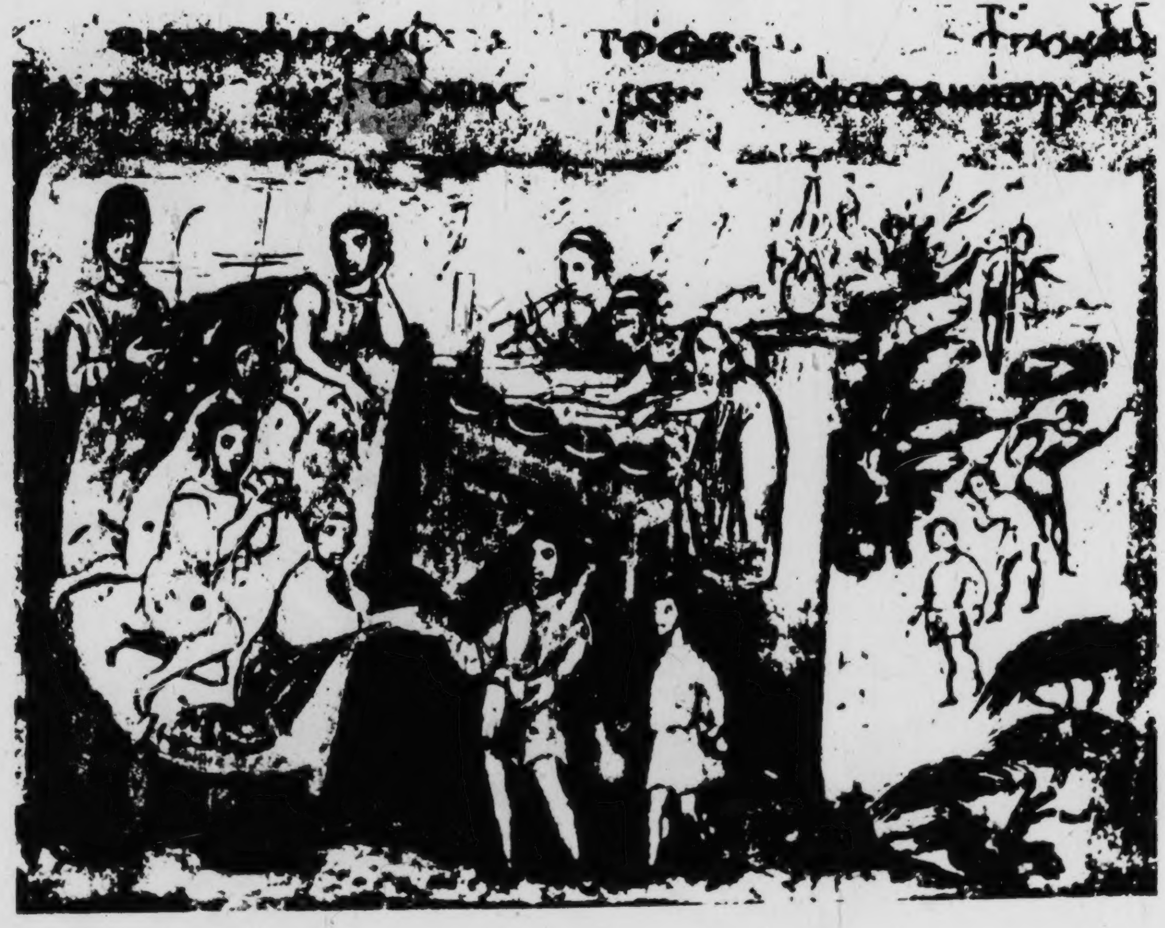


FIGURE 26

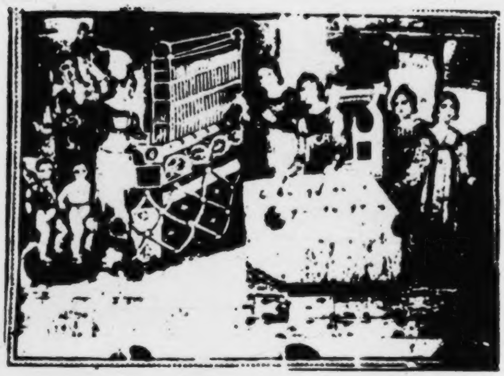


FIGURE 27

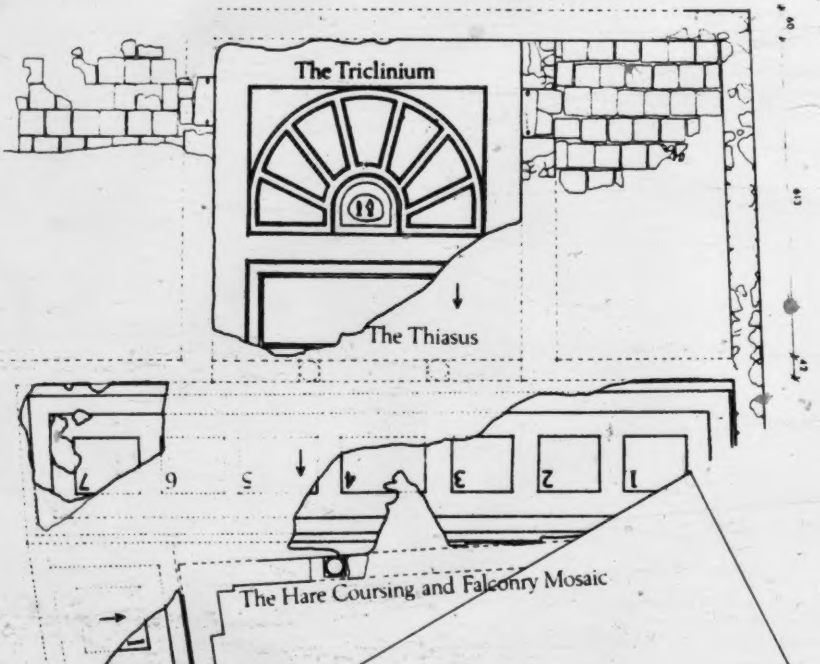

The Triclinium
The Thiasus
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
The Hare Coursing and Falconry Mosaic
1
2
3
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 M

FIGURE 28

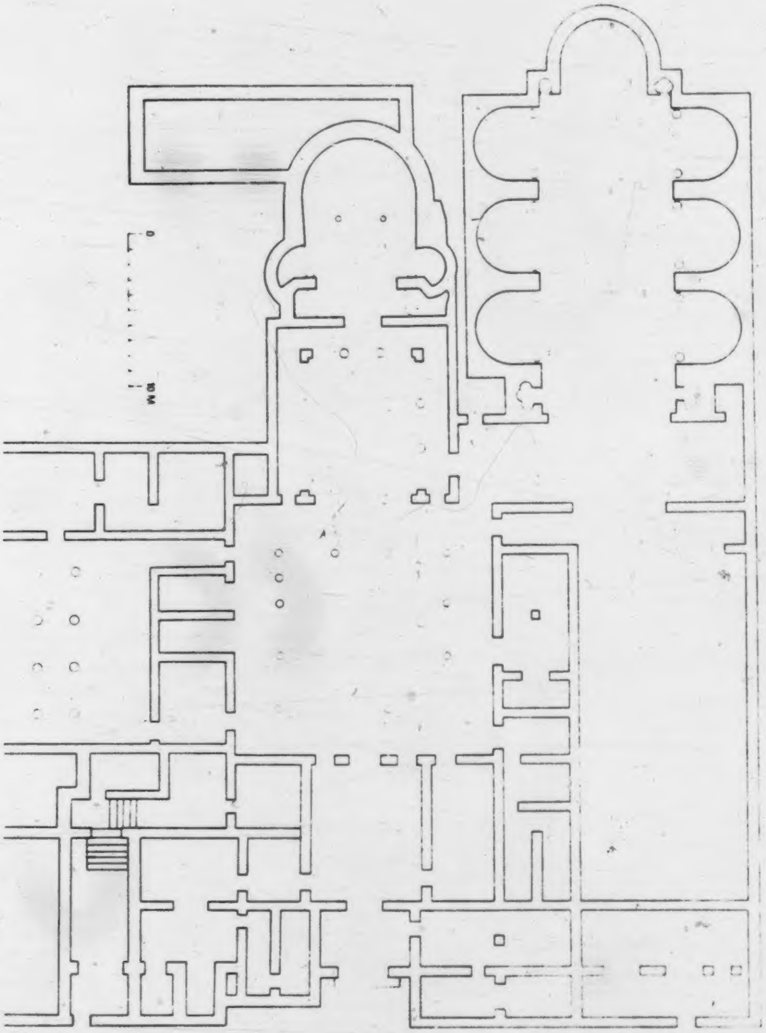


FIGURE 29

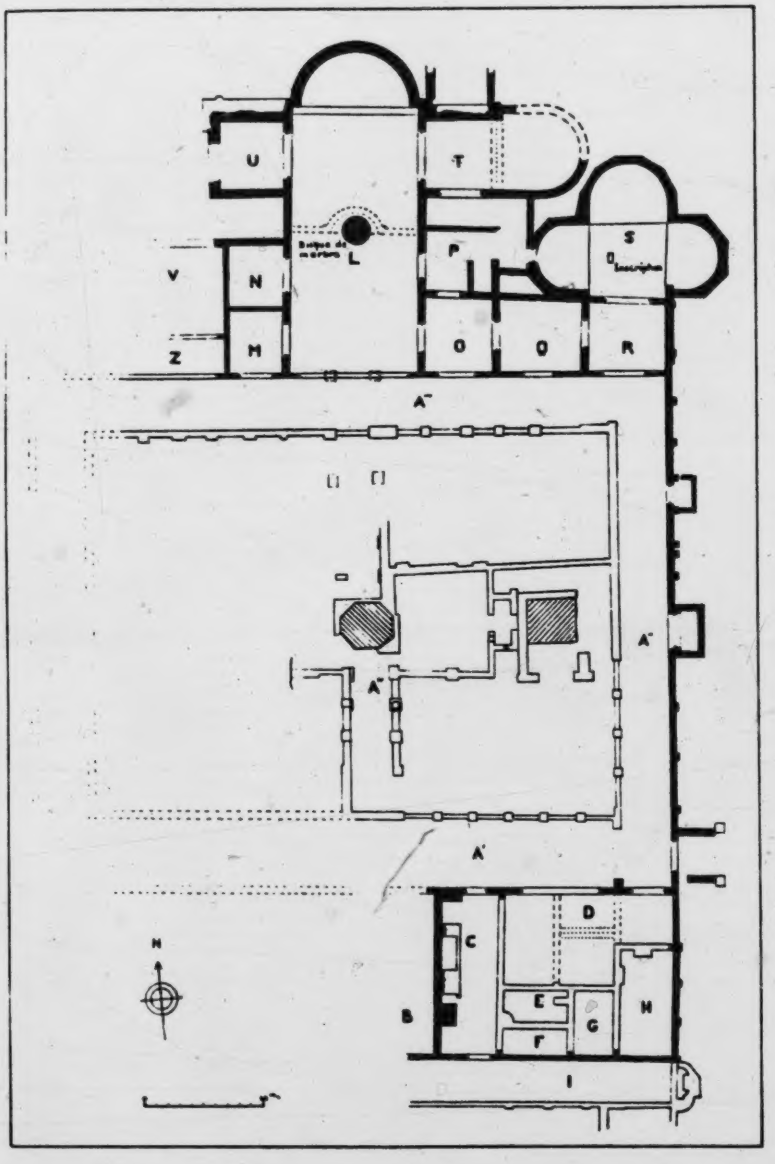

U
T
S
Bloque de mármol
L
Inscripción
V
N
P
Z
M
O
Q
R
A''
A'
A''
A'
D
C
N
E
B
G
H
F
I

FIGURE 30

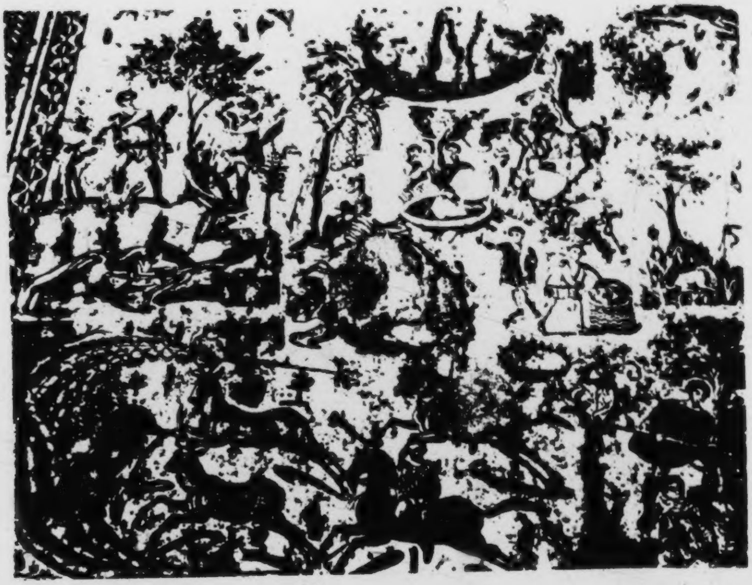


FIGURE 31

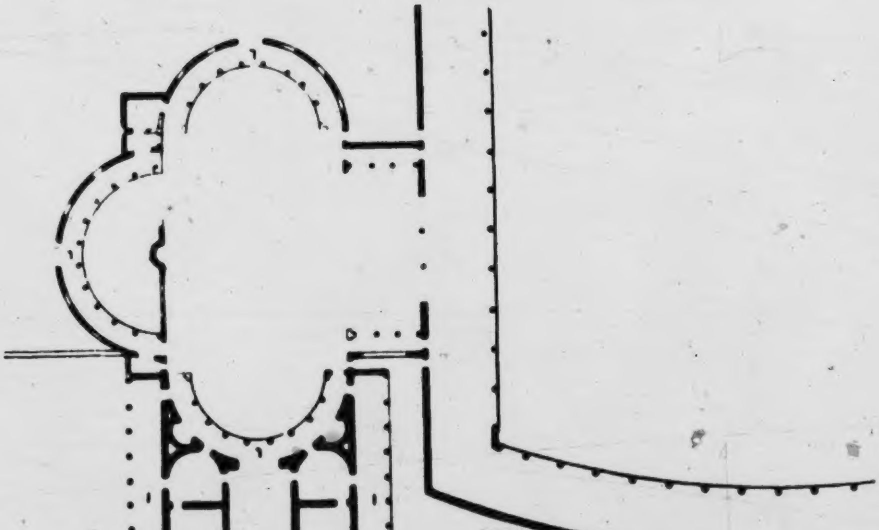
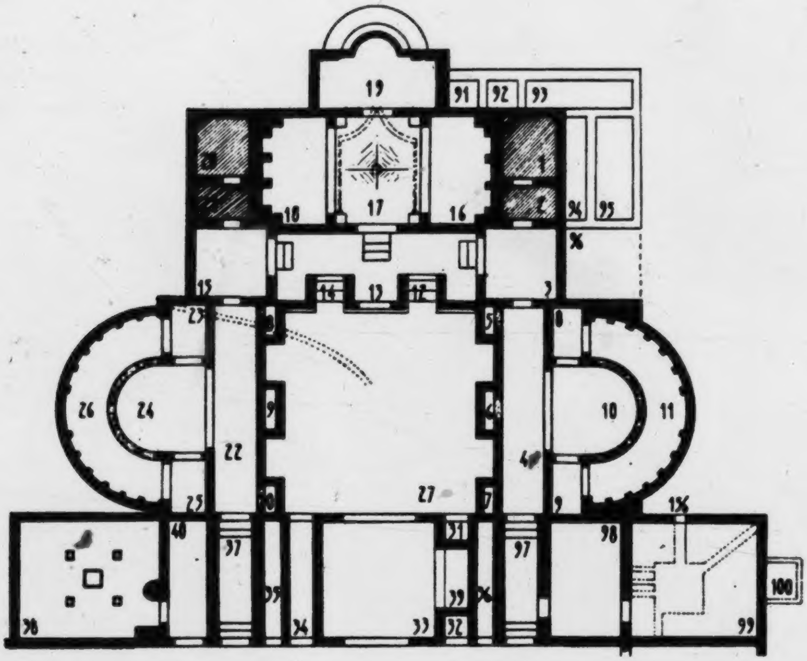


FIGURE 32


19
91
92
93
17
18
16
1
2
94
95
15
14
13
12
26
24
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40
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100
38
35
34
33
32
99

FIGURE 33

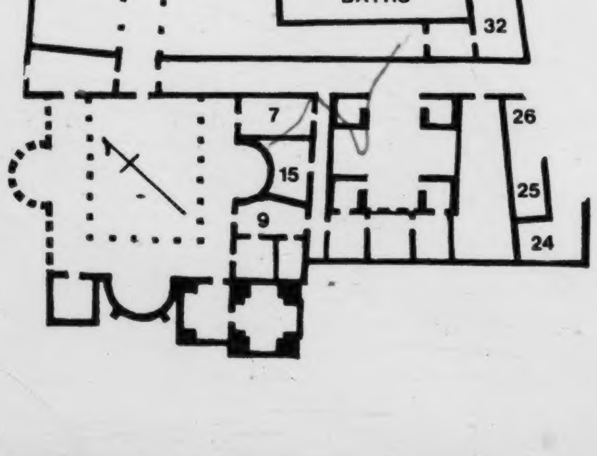
BATHS
32
7
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FIGURE 34

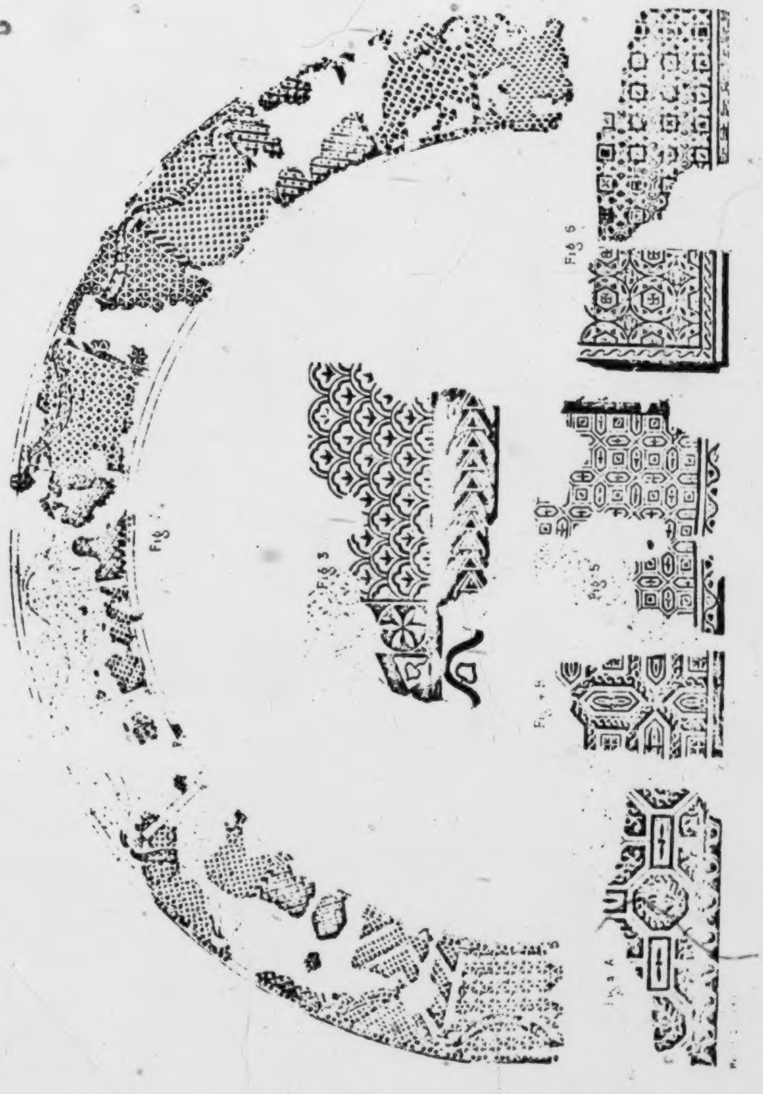
Fig. 2
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Fig. 6
Fig. A

MOSAIQUES ROMAINES, [illegible] A LESCAR

FIGURE 35

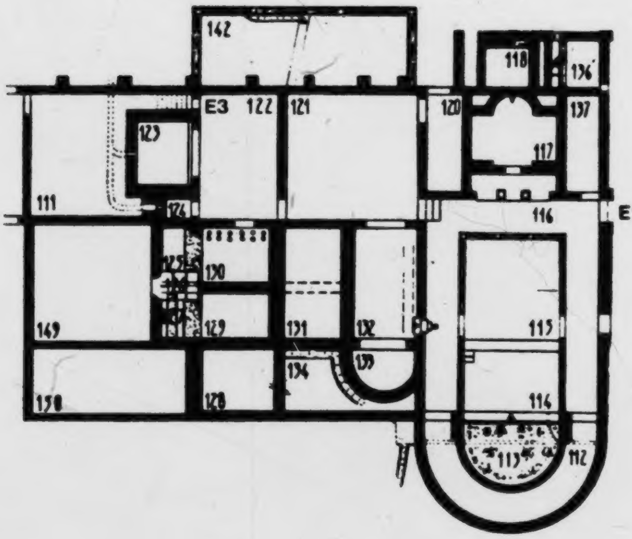
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FIGURE 36

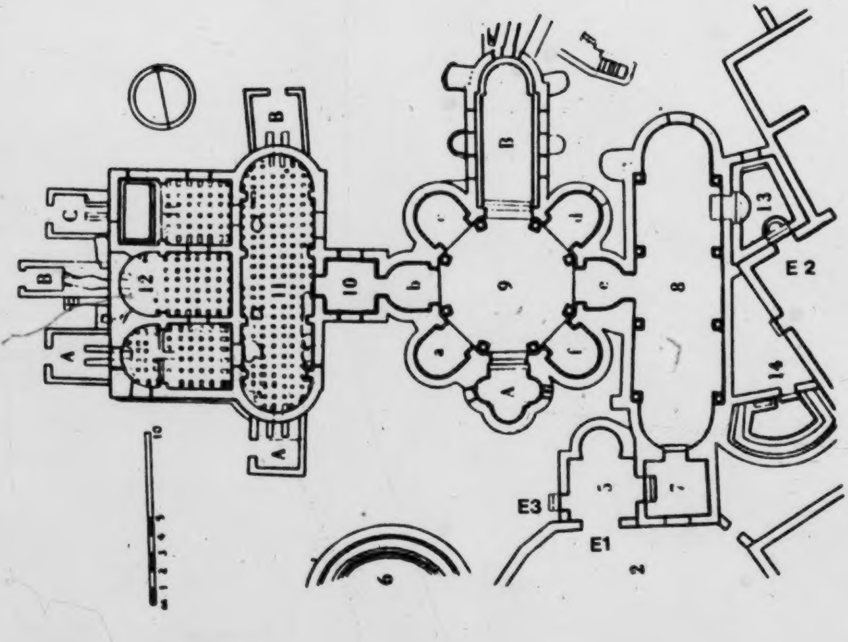
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FIGURE 37

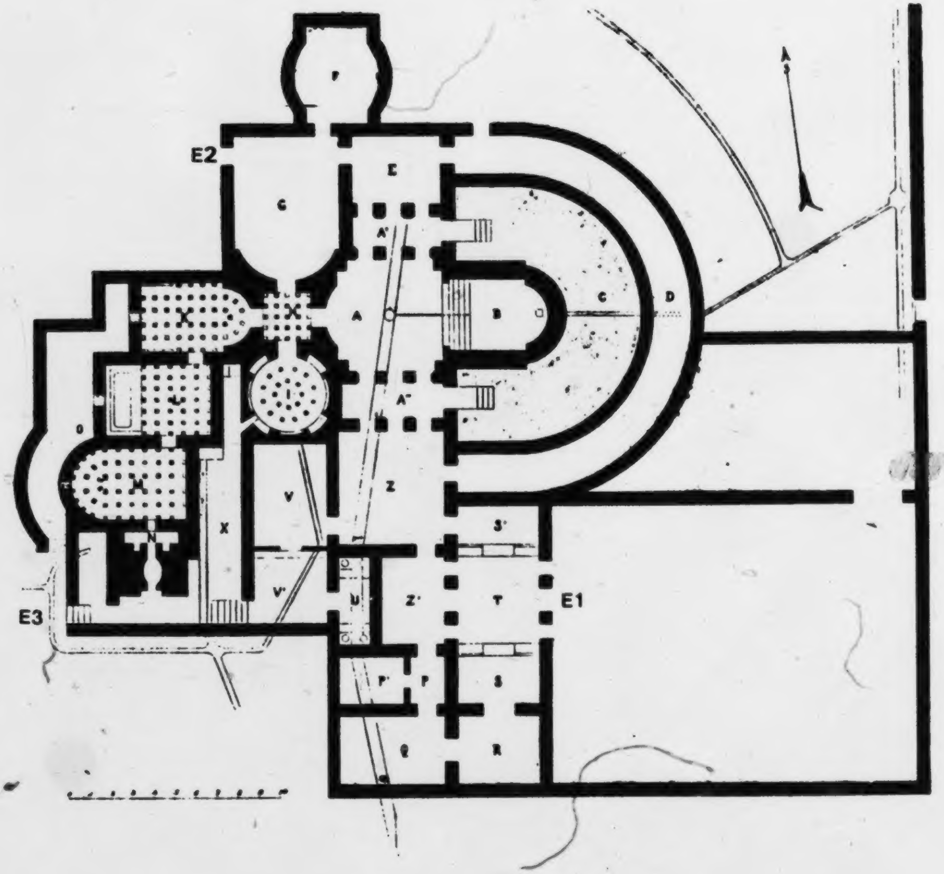
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FIGURE 38

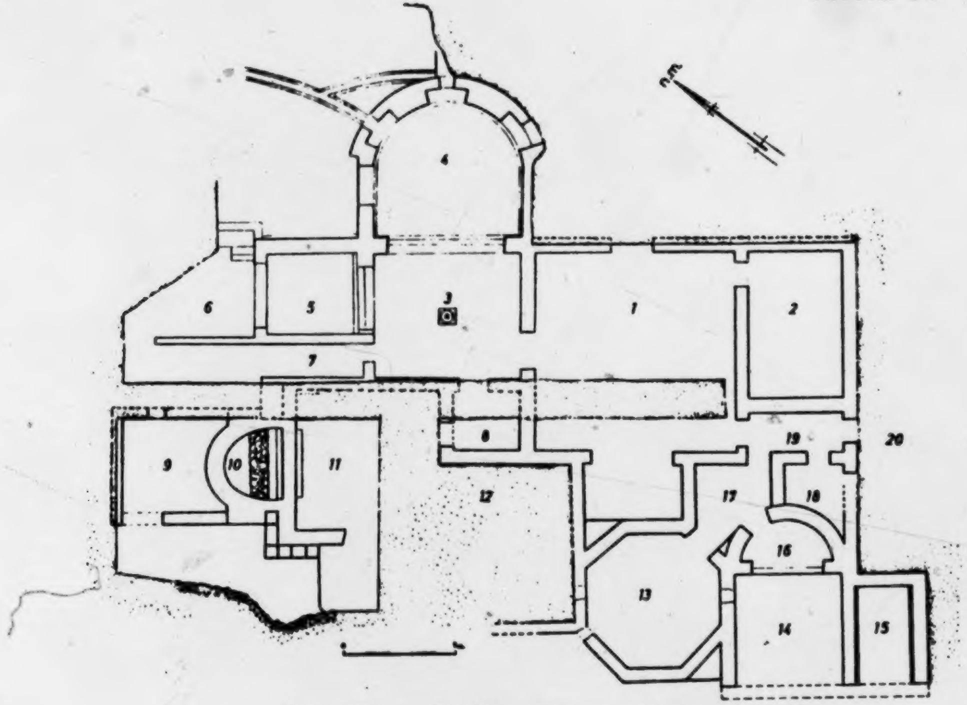
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Fig. 1. Els Munts. Termas inferiores.

FIGURE 39

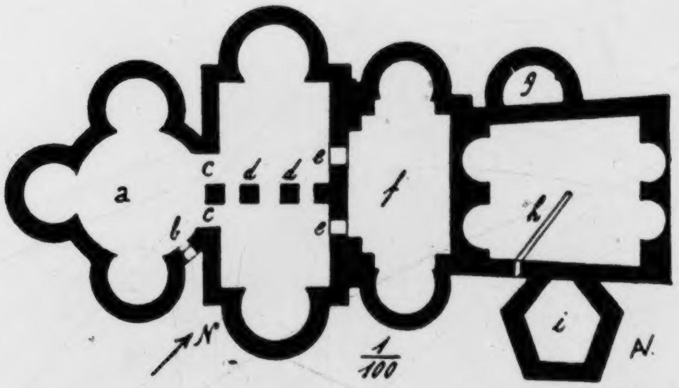
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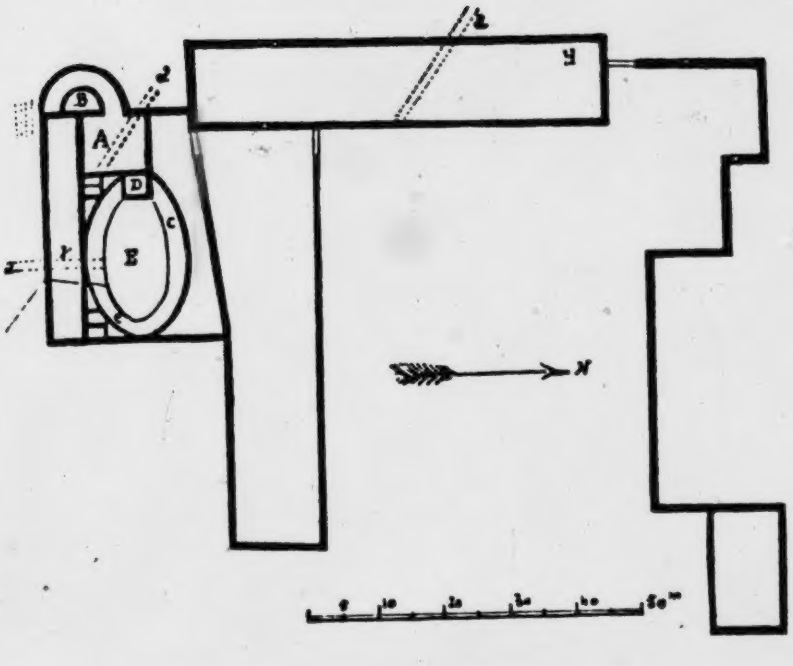
Fig. 6 — Planta do edifício principal do balneário romano da Torre de Cardeira: a)—*caldarium*; d) f)—*tepidarium*; h)—*frigidarium*; b)—*fornacula* do *hipocaustum*

FIGURE 40


B
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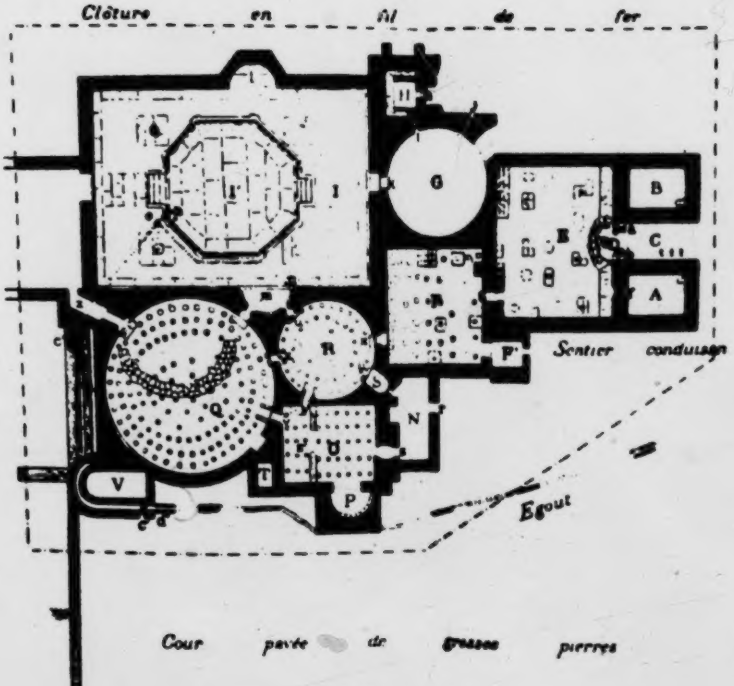
50m

Revue de Comminges, 1886.

J.-P.-M. Morel

FIGURE 41


Clôture en fil de fer
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G
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U
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Sentier conduisan
Egout
Cour pavée de grosses pierres
ECHELLE
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20m
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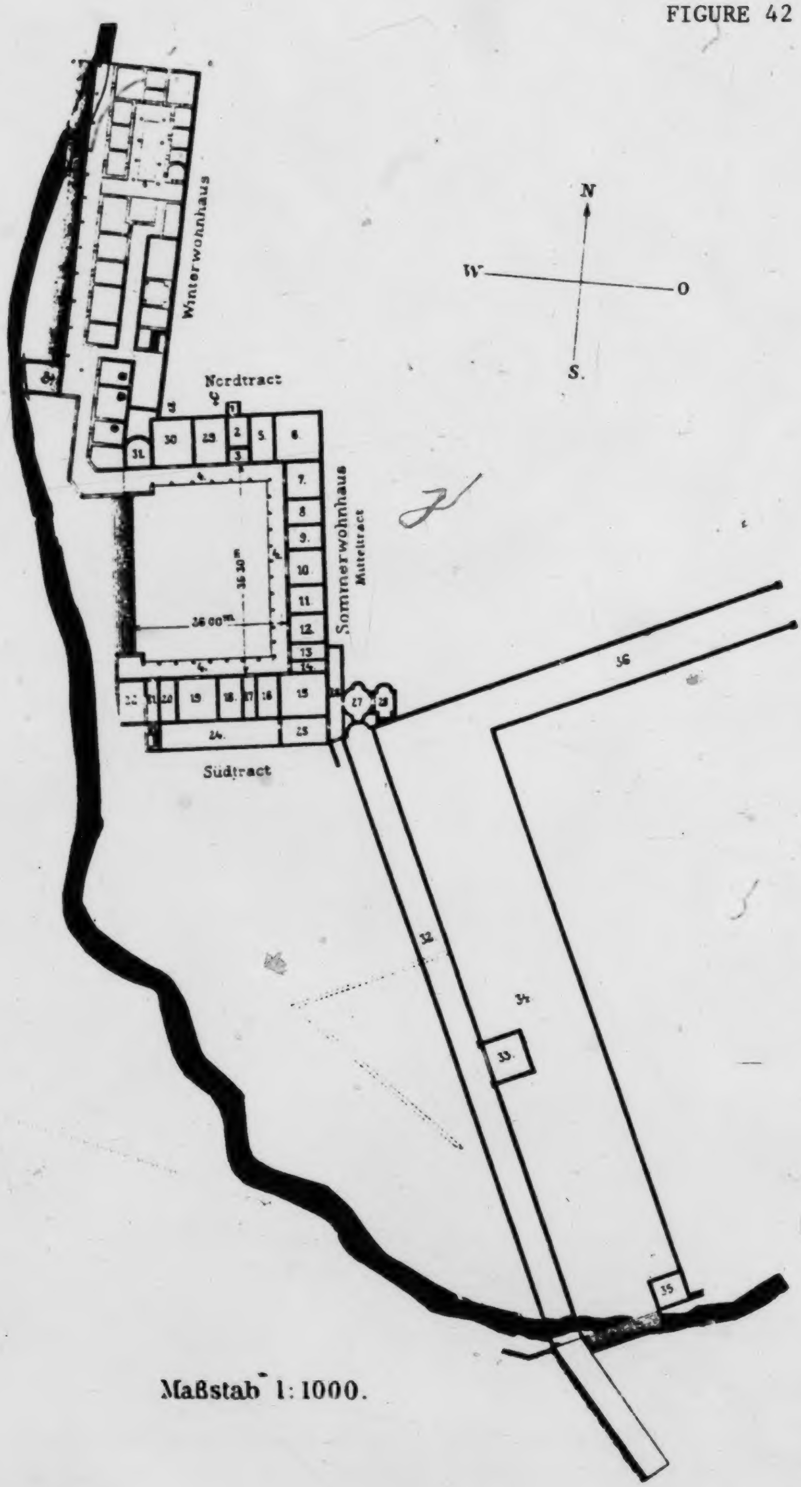
FIGURE 42


Winterwohnhaus
Nordtract
Sommerwohnhaus
Mitteltract
Südtract
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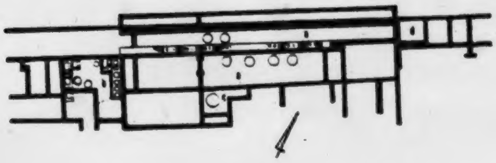
Maßstab 1:1000.

FIGURE 43



Ill. 6. Barbariga, plan of oil plant

FIGURE 44

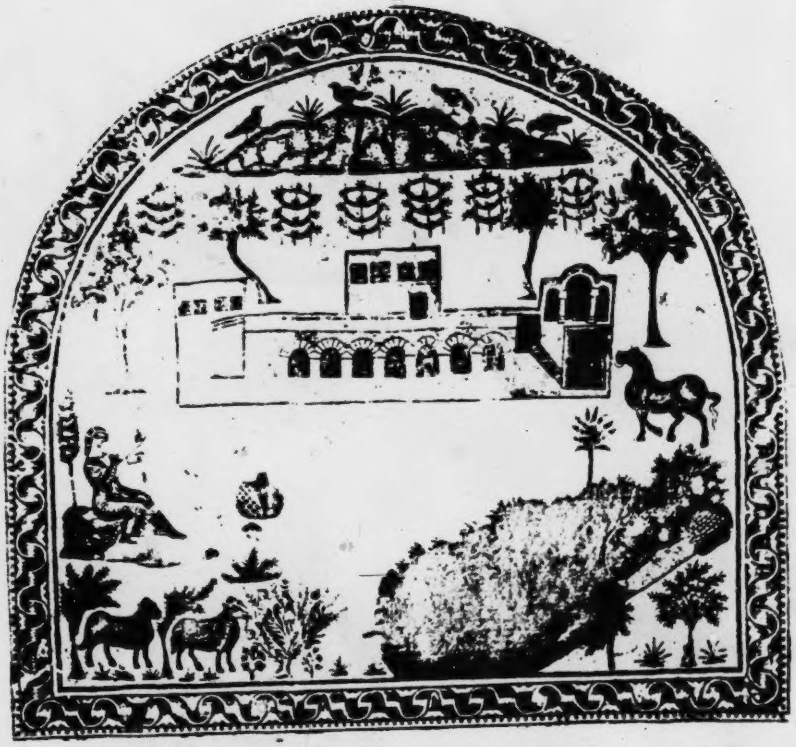
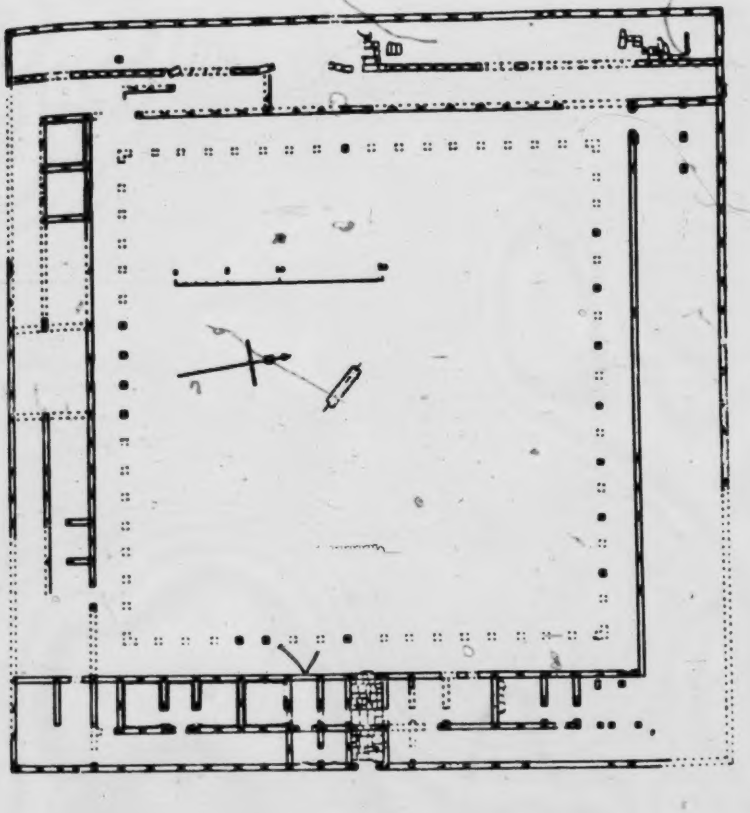


FIGURE 45



Plan de l'écurie d'Oued Athménia

FIGURE 46

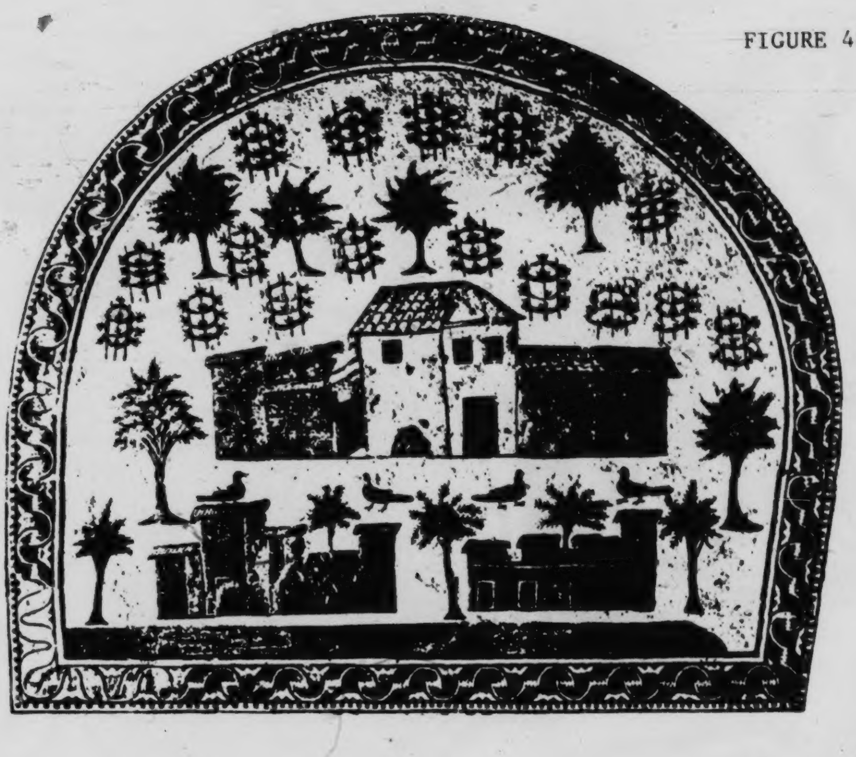
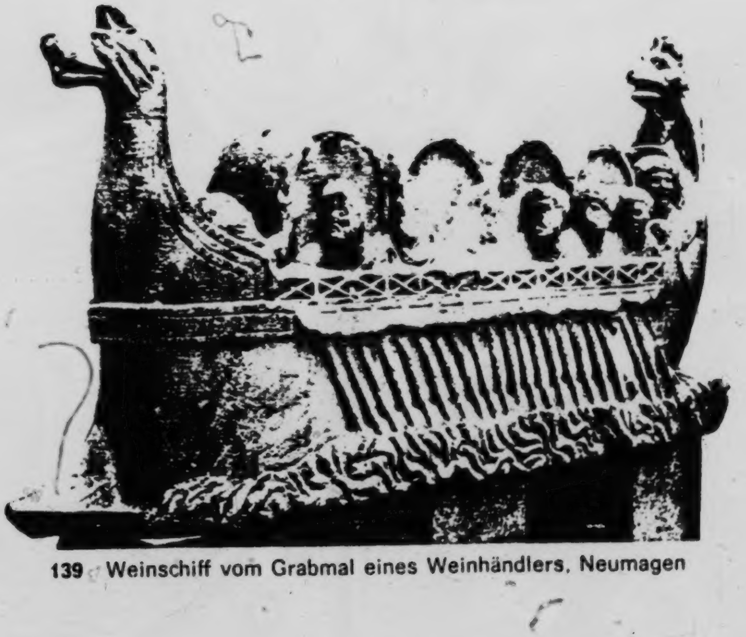
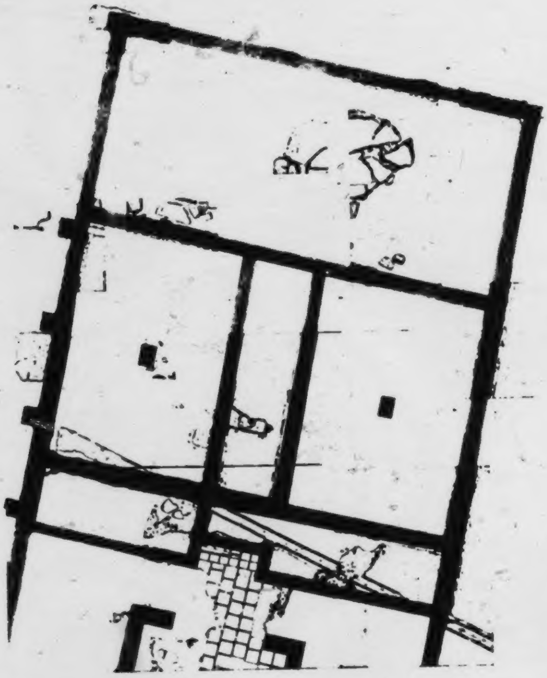


FIGURE 47



139 Weinschiff vom Grabmal eines Weinhändlers, Neumagen

FIGURE 48



Via Gabina IO

FIGURE 49

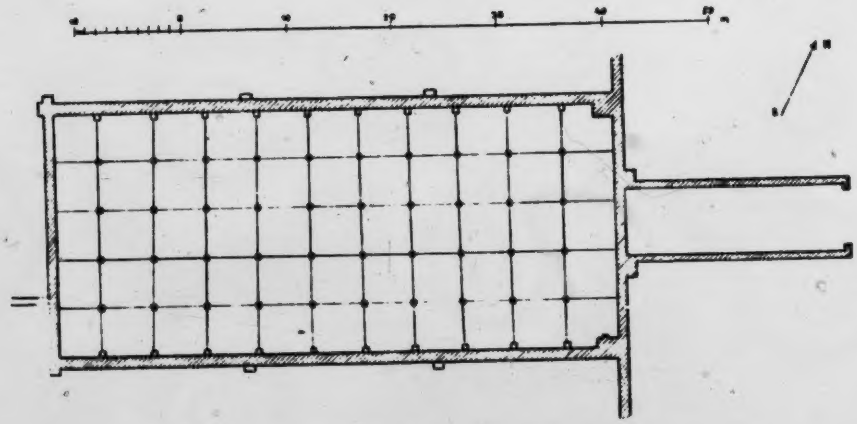
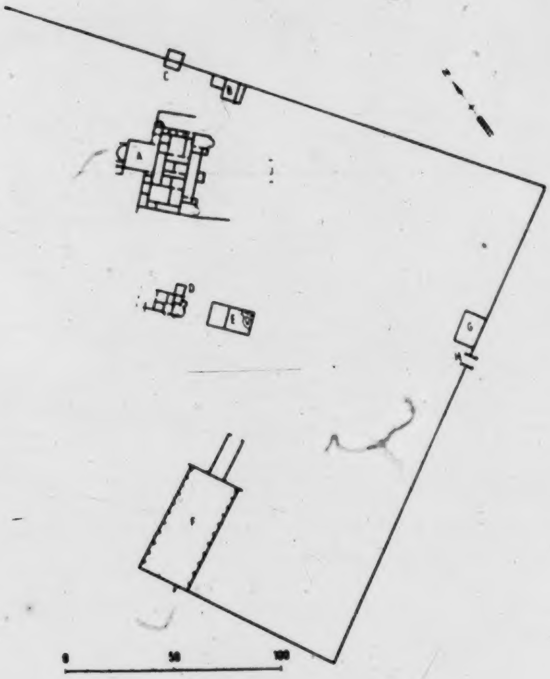


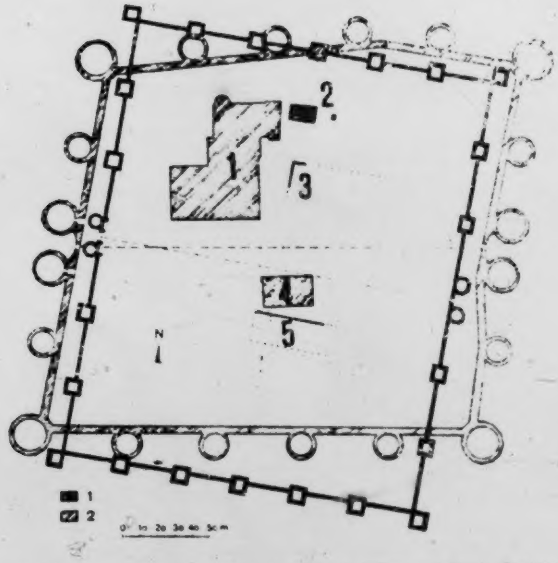
Abb. 5: Plan des Getreidespeichers.

FIGURE 50



41 Parndorf, Austria

FIGURE 51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Drawing 3. Plan of Gamzigrad: 1. The original design (c. 297—306 A.D.); 2. The imperial palace (c. 306—316 A.D.).

FIGURE 52

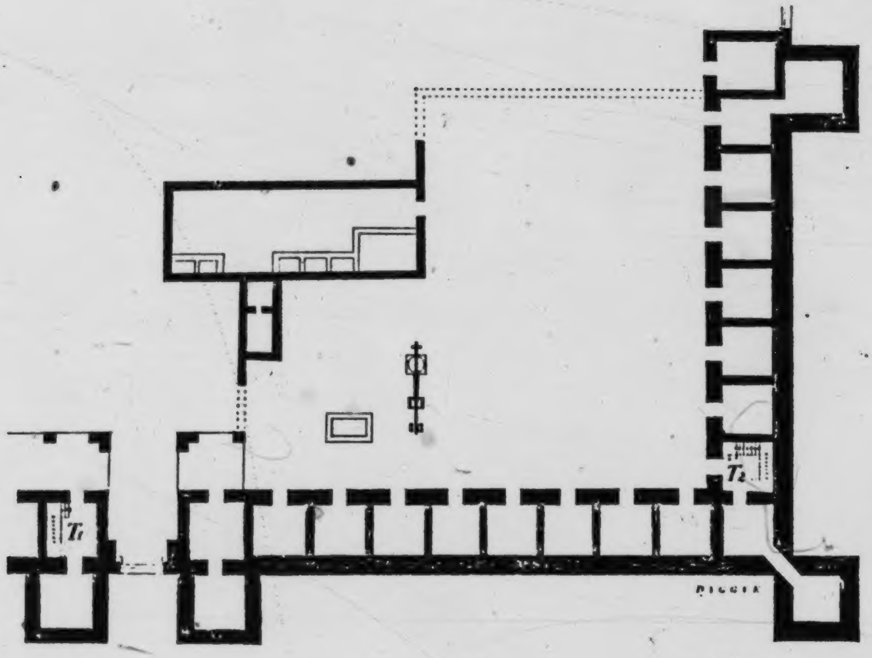


FIGURE 53

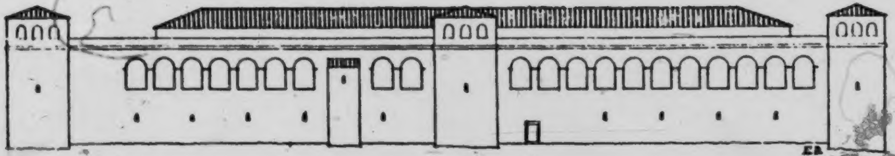
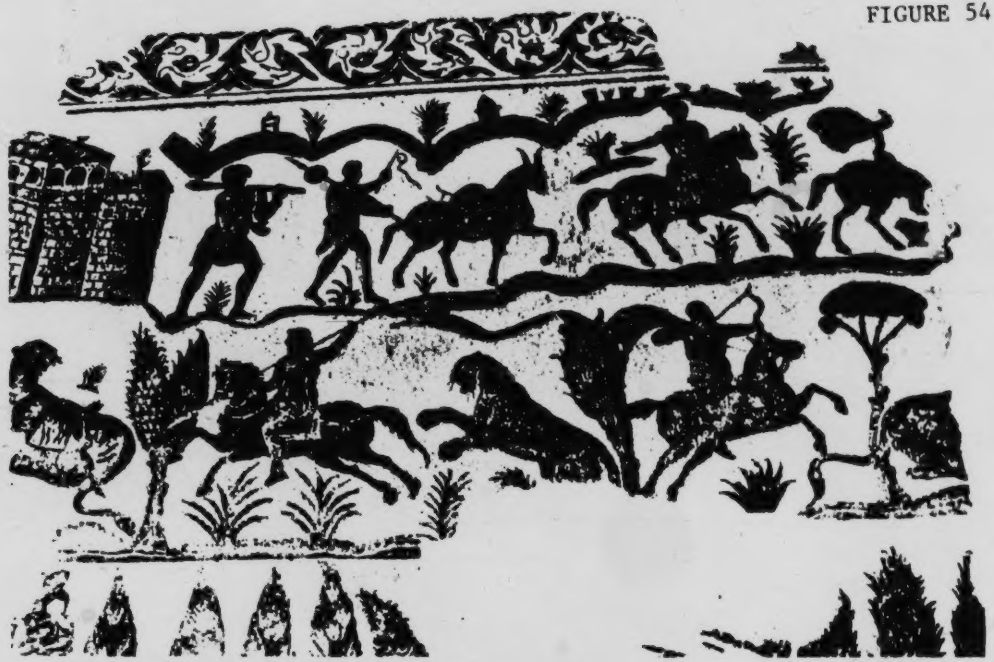


Abb. 25. Seeseite der Villa, 1931 (E. Dyggve)

FIGURE 54



Carthage, Khéreddine, Offering of the Crane (Carthage 41)

FIGURE 55

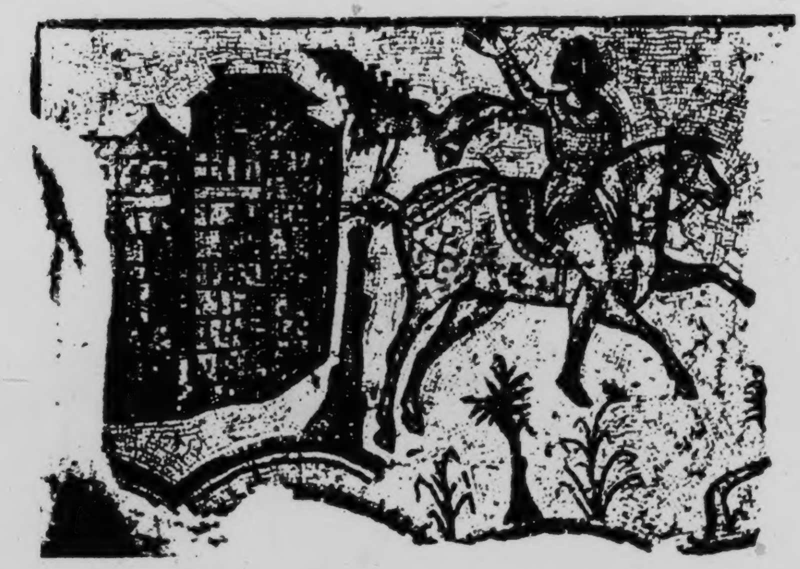
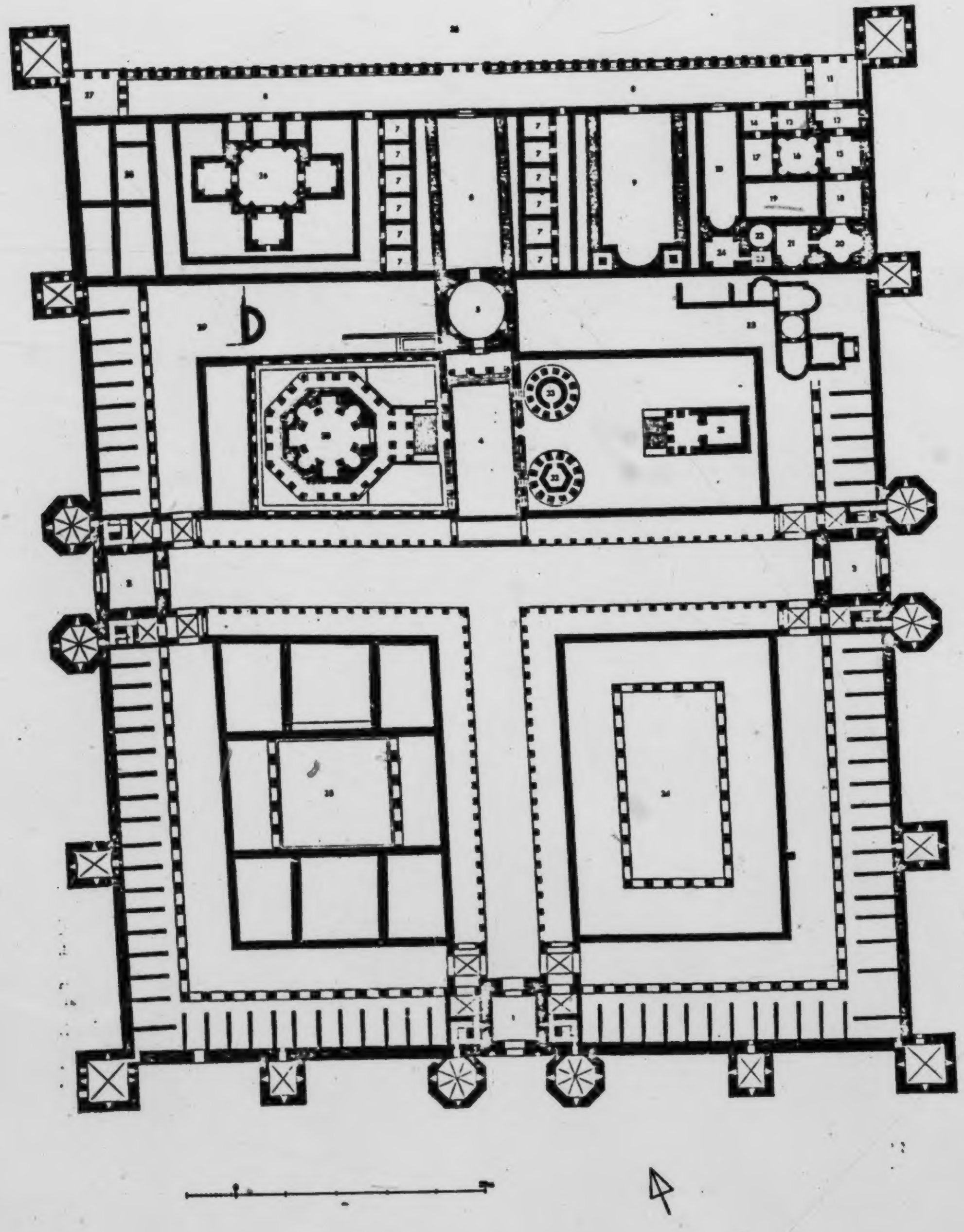


FIGURE 56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XIV. APPENDIX 1

An alphabetical glossary of later Latin and Greek terms used to refer to villas and their component parts.

A. LATIN

aedes

sometimes used of a villa or 'country house' (cf. **domus**, **domicilium**, **praetorium**).

Symmachus *Ep.*2.59.1, 6.9; Sidonius *Ep.*2.9.1.

apotheca

a storage room, often for wine (cf. **cella vinaria** and **penus**).

Augustine *Ep.*185; Salvian *Ad Eccl*.3.3; Sidonius *Car*.22.219, *Ep.*2.14.2.

atrium

an open courtyard (cf. **aula**); at Leontius' villa a courtyard of crescent-shaped plan (chap. 4 A).

Ausonius *Mosella* 335-6; Sidonius *Car*.22.157; Greg.Tours *HF* 3.15, 5.50; Luxurius *Epg*.6, 18; Ennodius *Car*.2.12.2.

aula

an open courtyard (cf. **atrium**); a term most commonly used in the context of palace architecture (chap. 2 B).

Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.3.12.29.

balneum, balneolum, balineum

all used of villa bath-houses (chap 5 *passim*).

Ausonius *Mosella* 337-348; Augustine *De Ordine* 1.8.25; Faventinus 16; Palladius *Op.Ag*.1.39; *V.Melaniae* 1.2, 18, 21; Sidonius *Car*.22.135-6, 23.495; *idem Ep*.2.9.8; Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.1.18; for the latter, Naucellius *Epg*.4; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.4.

bybliotheca

a room serving both as a library and reception room (chap. 3 D).

Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.5; cf. in an urban context, Macrobius *Sat*.1.6.1, 5.3.17; Boethius *Cons.Phil*.1.4-5.

cella calida or cella coctilium aquarum

the room of the bath-house containing the hot-water baths (chap. 5 D).

Faventinus 16; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.4.

cella frigidaria

the room of the bath-house containing the cold-water baths (chap. 5 C).

Faventinus 17; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.5.

cella unguentaria

the warm room of the bath-house, used for changing and oiling down after the hot bath (chap. 5 D).

Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.4.

cella vinaria, domus vinaria

a fermentation and storage room for wine (chap. 7 C).

Palladius *Op.Ag*.1.18.1; Salvian *De Gub*.1.10.

cenatio, cenatiunculum

a dining-room, sometimes designed for summer dining (chap. 4 B-C).

Sidonius *Car*.22.207-10, *Ep*.2.2.11.

consistorium

at Sidonius' villa, an anteroom used by servants (chap. 6 C).

Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.13.

in the context of palace architecture, an audience-hall (chap. 2 D).

Ambrose *Ep*.24.3, 57.2-3; Amm.Marc.15.5.18, 30.6.2.

cubiculum

the usual word for a bedroom.

Amm.Marc.25.10.3; *V.Melaniae* 1.5; Orosius *Con.Pag*.4

Praef. Augustine *De Ord*.1.3.6 prefers the word **conclavis**.

cucina, culina

the kitchen; a room rarely referred to in literary descriptions of villas.

Sidonius *Ep*.2.9.3; Faventinus 16; cf. Macrobius *Sat*.7.5.7.

domus

a common word for a villa or 'country house' (cf. **aedes**, **domicilium**, **praetorium**).

Ausonius *Ep*.16.4; Augustine *Con.Ac*.2.10.24; Rutilius Namatianus *De Red*.1.530; Sulpicius Severus *V.Martini* 8; Sidonius *Car*.22.127, *Ep*.2.9.1, 4.8.2, 5.20.4; Cassiodorus *Var*.8.25.3.

deambulacrum

a colonnaded walkway or portico.

Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.10.

deversorium

a bedroom or withdrawing-room used during the siesta period.

Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.13, 2.9.7.

domicilium

the main residential building of the villa, a word favoured by Gallo-roman writers.

Constantius of Lyons *V.Germani* 10, 33-4; Sidonius *Ep.*1.5.2, 1.8.2, 2.2.16, 2.9.1, 4.7.2, 8.4.1.

fenilia

a hay-loft.

Faventinus 13.

granaria

a granary or barn (cf. **horreum**).

Sidonius *Ep.*6.12.6; Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.19.2, 7.3.2.

horreum

a granary or barn (cf. **granaria**) (chap. 7 C).

Symmachus *Ep.*6.68; Ambrose *Ep.*82.7; Sidonius *Car.*22.169-70, *Ep.*1.6.4, 2.14.2; Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.19.1, 7.3.2; Greg.Tours *HF* 5.34; Cassiodorus *Variae* 6.11.12.

mansio

a general word used of any room or building forming part of a villa.

Constantius of Lyons *V.Germani* 10; Sidonius *Ep.*2.14.1; Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.9.1.

mola, molendinum

a water-driven mill or mill-house (chap. 7 F).

Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.41; Greg.Tours *HF* 9.38, *idem*, *V.Patrum* 18.

natatorium

an outdoor swimming pool (cf. **piscina**) (chap. 5 C).

V.Melaniae 1.18; cf. *Lib.Pont.*48.12, where reference is made to a **balneum sub aere**.

palatium

used of a villa built by Theoderic near Forli.

Paul the deacon *V.Hilarii* 2.

penus, cella penaria

a store-room (cf. **apotheca**).

Sidonius *Car*.22.219, *Ep*.2.2.9, 2.14.2, 8.4.1.

porticus

a portico or colonnaded walkway (cf. **deambulacrum**).

Sidonius *Car*.22.151, 179, 204, *Ep*.2.2.10, 15, 8.4.1.

praetorium

the main residential building of the villa, the 'great house' of the estate (R.Martin (1979) 116 n.3) (cf. **aedes**, **domus**, **domicilium**).

Ausonius *Mosella* 286; Symmachus *Ep.*1.10, 6.9, 66; *Lib.Pont.*48; Luxurius *Epg.*64; Venantius Fortunatus *Car.*1.18.

stabulum

the stables (chap. 7 C).

Paulinus of Pella *Euch.*211; Palladius *Op.Ag.*1.21; Faventinus 13 prefers the Vitruvian word **equilium**.

suburbanum

a common term for 'country house' or 'country estate' usually implying a property visited intermittently from the town (chap. 1 *passim*).

Amm.Marc.21.1.5, 27.3.12, 28.6.14, 31.6.2; Jerome *Ep.*107.11, 127.8; Symmachus *Ep.*3.55, 6.66, *Rel.*28.3; *V.Melaniae 1.7; Sidonius Ep.*2.12.2.

sudatio, sudatorium

the sweat-room of the bath-house (called by Vitruvius a **laconicum**) (chap. 5 D).

Faventinus 17; Cassiodorus *Var.*7.39.6 (a public bath).

textrinum

specifically the 'weaving-room', used generally of the women's rooms of the villa (chap. 6 C).

Jerome *Ep*.117.8; Sidonius *Car*.22.193, *Ep*.2.2.9.

triclinium

a dining-room; the term is often qualified e.g. **triclinium aestivum, triclinium hiemale, triclinium matronale** (chap. 4 *passim*).

Faventinus 14; Paulinus of Nola *Ep*.24.3, 44.1; Salvian *Ad Eccl*.4.6; Macrobius *Sat*.7.17; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.9, 11.

tugurium

at Leporius' villa, an outbuilding occupied by slaves (chap. 6 D).

Constantius of Lyons *V.Germani* 33-4; in Ammianus the word is used to mean a modest farmhouse (= *casa agrestis*): Amm.Marc.31.16.2.

vestibulum

an open forecourt located immediately inside the villa's main gateway, between the gate and the front door of the house (chap. 2 C).

Sulpicius Severus *V.Martini* 8; Sidonius *Ep*.2.2.10, 8.4.1; Greg.Great *Dial*.1.9.

villa

used mainly by Late Roman writers to mean 'an estate', technically an estate with buildings (R.J.Buck (1983) 13).

e.g. Amm.Marc.17.1.7: *opulentas pecore villas et frugibus*; Symmachus *Ep*.7.15: *celebri itinere villa praestringitur*; Luxurius *Epg*.60 (superscription): *de amphitheatro in villa vicina mari fabricato*; Venantius Fortunatus *Car*.1.19, 20.

used less commonly to refer specifically to the estate house.

Ausonius *Mosella* 284: *pendentes saxis instanti culmine villae*; Palladius *Op.Ag*.1.36.1: *area longe a villa non debet*.

villula

like villa used mainly to refer to an estate.

Orosius *Con.Pag*.7.33: *in cuiusdam villulae casam deportatus*.

used also of farmhouses.

Jerome *Ep*.66.14: *semirutae villulae; V.Melaniae* 1.18: *habebat possessio sexaginta villulas*.

B. GREEK

ἀποθήκη

a granary or barn (cf. Latin **horreum**).

Julian *Mis.*369D.

αὔλειον, αὔλα

an internal courtyard (cf. Latin **aula**).

Procopius *Wars* 3.23.9; for the latter, John Lydus *De Mag.*2.21.4; Theoph.Sim. *Hist.*1.2.

ἱππών

the stable (cf. Latin **stabulum**).

Olympiodorus Fr.26; John Lydus *De Mag.*2.21.2 uses the term ἔπαυλις ὑποζυηίων.

κώμη

like the Latin **villa** usually used of an estate with buildings.

e.g. Greg.Nyssa *Ep.*1.8, *In XL Mart.*784B; Basil *Ep.*223; Cyril of Skythopolis *V.Euthymii* 2; Agathias *Hist.*5.14D; Sozomen *HE* 7.21.

λουτρόν, βαλανεῖον

both used of villa bath-houses.

Julian *Ep.*25.427C; Libanius *Ep.*877; Greg.Nyssa *Ep.*1.24; for the latter, *V.Melaniae* (Greek)1.18; Theoderet *HE*

4.13; John Lydus *De Mag*.2.22.1; Johannes *V.Severi* 260.

οικία, οικήσις

common words for a villa or 'country house'.

Libanius *Ep*.660; John Chrys. *Ep*.14.3; Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.1.8; *V.Olympiados* 5; Procopius *Wars* 3.23.5.

οἶκος

any large hall, sometimes a dining-hall.

Greg.Nyssa *Ep*.20.17-18.

in the context of palace architecture, an audience-hall (cf. Latin **consistorium**).

Cyril of Skythopolis *V.Sabas* 51; Theoderet *HE* 1.6; Sozomen *HE* 1.19.

used also of a granary (chap. 7 C).

Polybius *V.Epiphanii* 53.

οινών

a fermentation and storage room for wine (cf. Latin **cella vinaria**).

Procopius *Wars* 7.35.4.

προάστειον

a common term for 'country house' or 'country estate', usually implying a property visited intermittently from the town (cf. Latin **suburbanum**).

Julian *Ep.ad Ath.*275B; Callinicus *V.Hypatii* 7.4; *V.Olympiados* 5; John Chrys. *Ep.*14.2.

προαύλιον

an open forecourt located immediately inside the main gateway (cf. Latin **vestibulum**).

Greg.Nyssa *V.Macrinae* 33-4.

στοά

a portico (cf. Latin **porticus**).

Greg.Nyssa *Ep.*6.8, 20.16.

ὑπερῷον

the upper floor of a villa.

Procopius *Wars* 3.23.5.

XV. APPENDIX 2

Select bibliography of Late Antique villas and related buildings discussed in the text.

A. Italy and Sicily.

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F.Tinè Bertocchi 'Albisola' *Archeologia in Liguria 1967-75* (Genoa 1976) 113-122.

Desenzano, Lombardia:
E.Ghislanzoni *La villa romana in Desenzano* (Milan 1962); M.Mirabella Roberti 'Un mosaico col Buon Pastore nella villa romana di Desenzano' *Atti del V congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana (22-29 settembre 1979)* (Rome/Viella 1982) 393-404.

Patti Marina, Sicily:
G.Voza 'Villa romana di Patti' *Kokalos* 22-23 (1976-7) 574-579; cf. *Kokalos* 6-27 (1980-81) 2.1.690-693; *idem* 'Le ville romane del Tellaro e di Patti in Sicilia e il problema dei rapporti con l'Africa' *Röm. Mitt. Ergänzungsheft 25* (1982) 202-209.

Piazza Armerina, Sicily:

The most recent comprehensive studies are by A.Carandini, M.de Vos, A.Ricci *Filosofiana: la villa di Piazza Armerina. Immagine di un aristocratico romano al tempo di Constantino* (Palermo 1982); R.J.A.Wilson *Piazza Armerina* (London 1983), both of which contain extensive bibliographies.

Ravenna, so-called 'palace of Theodoric':
G.Ghirardini 'Gli scavi del palazzo di Teodorico a Ravenna' *Mon.Linc.* 24 ann.1916 (1918) col.737-838; F.Berti 'Materiali dai vecchi scavi del palazzo di Teodorico I-II' *Felix Ravenna* 7-8 (1974) 151-167, 9 (1975) 97-127; *idem, Mosaici antichi in Italia, regione ottava: Ravenna* (Rome 1976).

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A.M.Small 'San Giovanni di Ruoti: some problems in the interpretation of the structures' in K.S.Painter (1980) 91-109; *idem* 'Gli edifici del periodo tardo antico a San Giovanni' in M.Gualtieri, M.Salvatore and A.M.Small (ed.) *Lo scavo di San Giovanni di Ruoti ed il periodo tardoantico in Basilicata* (Bari 1983) 21-37; cf. the annual interim reports of the excavations by R.J.Buck and A.M.Small in *Classical Views/EMC* ns 1.3 (1982) 275-280, 2.2 (1983) 187-193, 3.2 (1984) 203-208.

Tellaro, Sicily:
G.Voza 'La villa romana del Tellaro' *Kokalos* 22-3 (1976-7) 572-574; *idem* 'I mosaici della villa del Tellaro' in

Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale (Centre Jean Bérard, Naples 1973) 175-179. See also under Patti Marina (above).

Via Gabina (*horreum*), Rome:
W.M.Widrig 'Two sites on the ancient Via Gabina' in K.S.Painter (1980) 119-140.

B. The Gallic Provinces

Champvert, Nièvre, Lugdunensis:
G.Gauthier 'Rapport sur les fouilles gallo-romaines de Champvert' *BCTH* (1897) 315; *idem* 'Les bains de la villa gallo-romaine de Champvert' *BCTH* (1902) 484-489.

Lalonquette, Aquitania:
J.Lauffray 'Lalonquette' *Gallia* 23 (1965) 441-42.

Lescar, Pau, Aquitania:
A.Gorse 'Les fouilles de Lescar' *BCTH* (1886) 428-437.

Montmaurin, Aquitania:
G.Fouet *La villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin* (*Gallia* Supp.20, 2nd ed. Paris 1983).

La Tasque, Gers, Aquitania:
M.Larrieu, M.Yves le Moal, M.Labrousse 'La villa gallo-romaine de la Tasque à Cadeilhan-Saint-Clar' *Gallia* 11

(1953) 41-67.

Téting, Belgica:

A.Grenier *Habitations gauloises et villas latines dans la cité des Médiomatrices* (Paris 1906) 159-173.

Valentine, Aquitania:

J.-P.-M.Morel 'Les antiquités romaines de Valentine' *Revue de Comminges* 2 (1886) 5-17; G.Fouet 'La villa gallo-romaine de Valentine (Haute-Garonne)' *Revue de Comminges* 91 (1978) 145-157.

C. The North African and Spanish provinces

Almenara de Adaja, Valladolid, Tarraconensis:

G.Nieto 'La villa romana de Almenara de Adaja (Valladolid)' *Boletîn del Seminario de Arte y Arqueologîa* 9 (1943-4) 192-243; J.-G.Gorges (1979) 437-8.

Djemila-Cuicul, Numidia:

M.Christofle *Rapport sur les travaux de fouilles exécutés en 1930-31-32* (Algiers 1935) 253; J.Lassus 'La salle à sept absides de Djemila-Cuicul' *Ant.Afr.* (1971) 193-207.

Els Munts (Altafulla), Tarraconensis:

M.Berges 'La villa romana dels Munts' *Boletîn Arqueológico* 69-70 (1969-70) 140-50; J.-G.Gorges (1979) 407-8.

Oued-Athménia, Numidia:

A.Poulle 'Les bains de Pompeianus' *Rec.Const.* 19 (1878) 431-457; S.Gsell *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algerie.II* (Paris 1901) 23-28; A.Berthier 'Etablissements agricoles antiques à Oued-Athménia' *Bull.Alg.* 1 (1962-3) 7-20.

Torre de Cardeira, Béja, Lusitania:

A.Viana 'Ruinas de edifícos' *Arquivo de Béja* 2 (1945) 315-6; J.-G.Gorges (1979) 475-6.

D. The German and Balkan Provinces

Gamzigrad, Dacia Ripensis:

M.Čanak Medić *Kasnoantiča Palata: Arkhitektura i Prostorni Sklop* (Belgrade 1978); *idem* 'Gamzigrad, une residence fortifié provenant du Bas-Empire' *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 13 (1971) 256-261; D.Srejovič, A.Lalovič and D.Jancovič 'Two Late Roman temples at Gamzigrad' *Arch.Jug.* 19 (1978) 54-63.

Löffelbach, Noricum:

W.Modrijan *Der römische Landsitz von Löffelbach* (Graz 1971); K.Swoboda (1969) 299-300.

Luka Polače, Dalmatia:

E.Dyggve 'Intorno al palazzo sull'isola di Meleda' *Palladio* 9 (1959) 19-26; K.Swoboda (1969) 285-7.

Mogorjelo, Dalmatia:

E.Dyggve and H.Vetters *Mogorjelo, ein spätantiker Herrensitz in römischen Dalmatien* (Schriften der Balkankommission 13, Vienna 1966); K.Swoboda (1969) 155-6.

Parndorf, Pannonia:

B.Saria 'Der römische Herrensitz bei Parndorf und seine deuting' in *Festschrift für A.A.Barb* (Eisenstadt 1966) 252-271; E.B.Thomas (1964) 177-192.

Punta Barbariga, Istria:

H.Schwalb *Römische Villa bei Pola* (Schriften der Balkankommission 2, Vienna 1902); R.Matijašić 'Roman rural architecture in the territory of Colonia Iulia Pola' *AJA* 86.1 (1982) 57-9; B.Marušić (1973/5) 340.

E. Greece and the Eastern Provinces

Argos, Villa of the Falconer:

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